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THE RETURN

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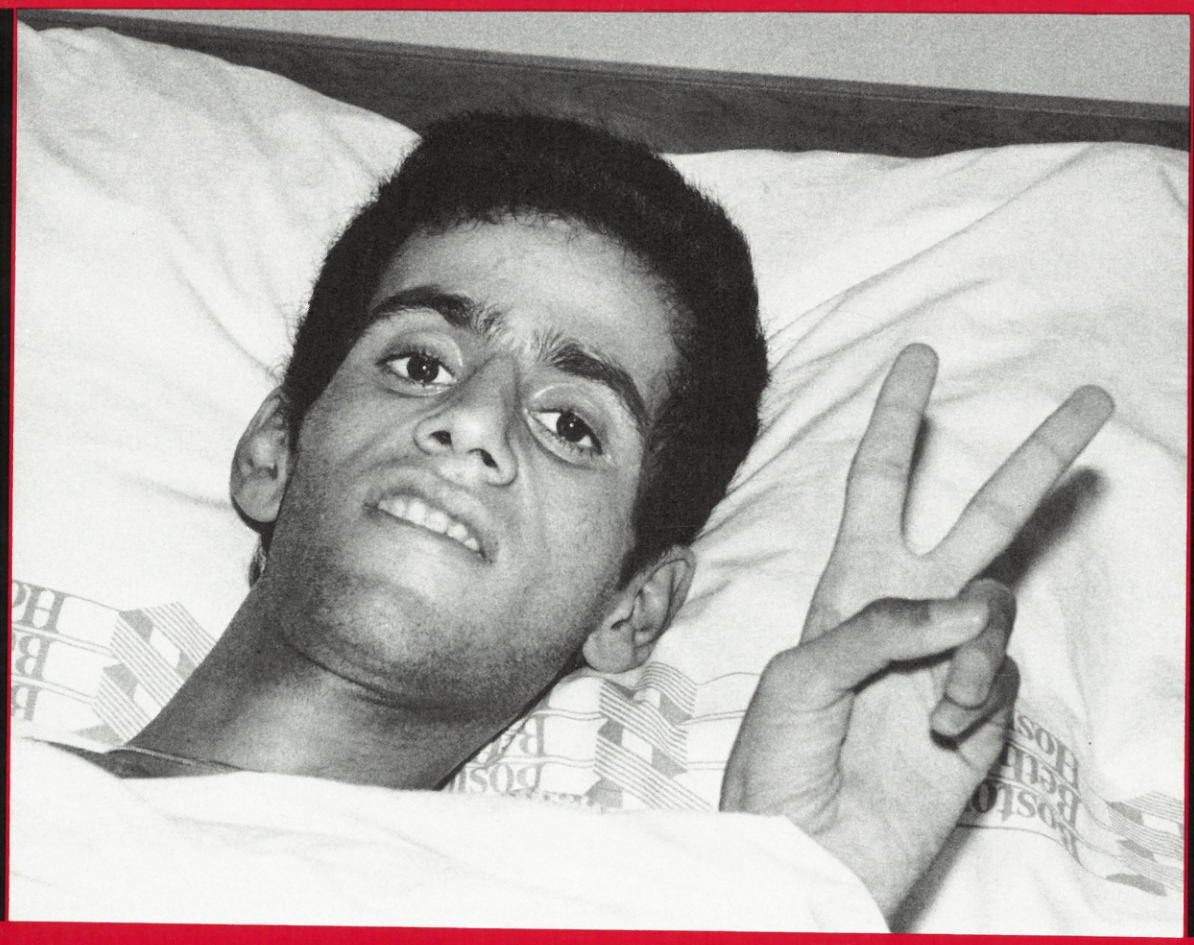
AN INTERNATIONAL PALESTINIAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE



Mohammed Abu Aker: A Living Martyr

Egypt Re-Emerges in the Politics of the Arab World

Israel's Chemical Weapons
by Jane Hunter

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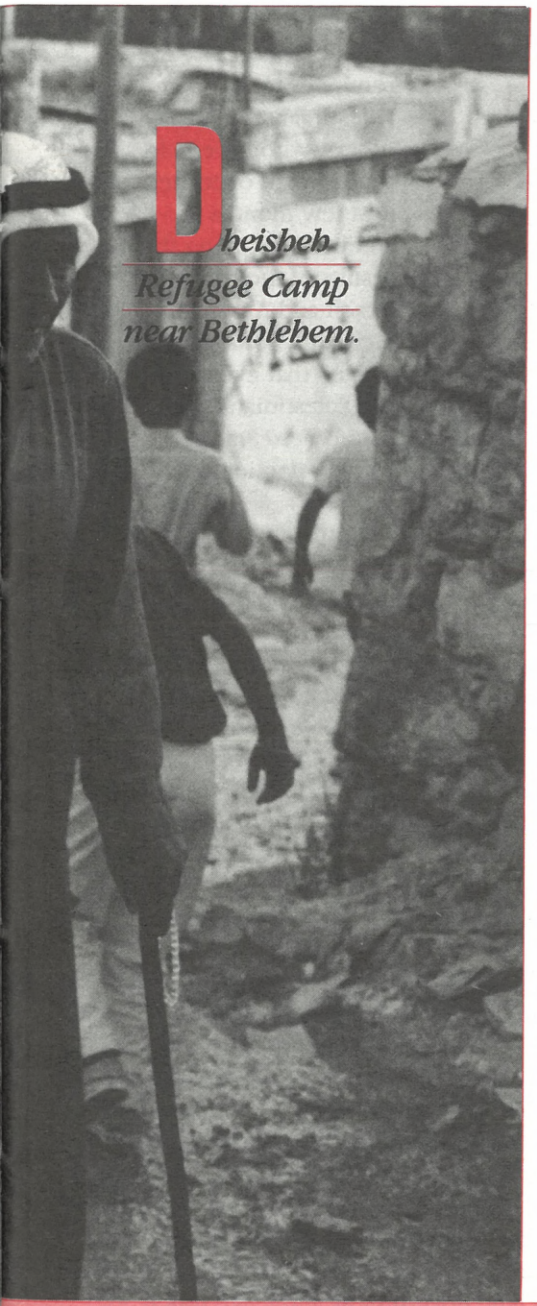

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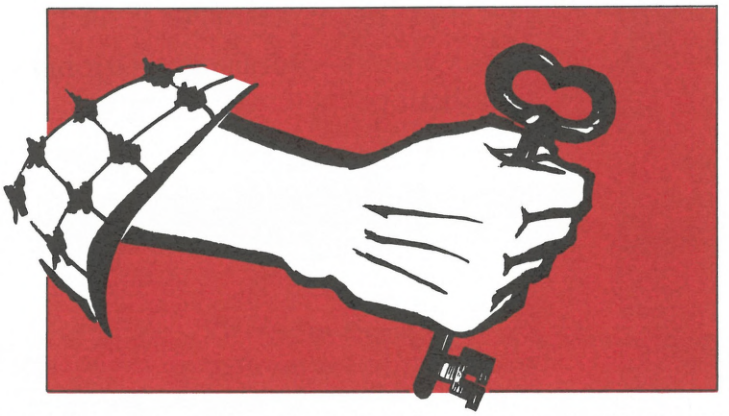


THE PALESTINIANS HOLD THE KEY

This editorial is a reminder. It is a reminder to those Palestinians, among others, who have held their breath over the past few months anxiously awaiting the results of the recent Israeli and American elections. Some have argued that events on the Palestinian-Israeli front will be heavily affected by who gets elected in Israel and the United States.

We beg to differ with the emphasis put on the significance of the election results in either Israel or the United States.

To those with short memories, we would like to point out that the current movement on the Palestinian-Israeli front has been generated not by elections of any sort, but rather by the decision of the people of Palestine living under Israeli occupation to fight back—to fight back with stones and bare bodies.

Unless the Palestinian people reduce their reliance on others, and imaginatively take the initiative to deal with their own problems, it does not matter who gets elected where. The Israeli occupation will continue.

Israel did not withdraw its troops from Lebanon because it wanted to or because the Israeli public abhorred the idea of occupying another country. Israel withdrew from Lebanon because it could no longer sustain the casualties that it was suffering on a daily basis.

The same is true for the Occupied Territories. Israel and most Israelis will not seriously consider withdrawing from these Palestinian territories unless Israel pays a heavy price for holding on to them.

Already we have seen Israel pay a heavy price in the loss of international sympathy and support as a result of the Uprising/*Intifadah*. Israel is no longer viewed as the David opposing the Arab Goliath. Israel has become the Goliath facing the unarmed Palestinian David.

The Palestinians have come to realize that if the Uprising slows down or ends they will be doomed to at least another 20 or 40 years of continued Israeli occupation. Therefore, the Uprising has to continue until an acceptable political settlement is achieved between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

In short, we do not believe that an American administration with an orientation similar to or different from the current one will make any difference. We also do not believe that a Labor government as opposed to a Likud government will make much difference.

What will make a difference is what the Palestinians do. The Palestinians can create new facts, as Israel has so often done. The world, including the Americans and the Israelis, will then learn to live with these new facts.

This is the only way the Palestinians can regain their usurped rights.

NATIONAL UNITY IS THE FOUNDATION

RAYMONDA TAWIL

Despite the sometimes heated debates among themselves regarding the next phase in their history, Palestinians are determined to remain nationally unified and are committed to abide by the will of the majority.

In any healthy, open, free, moral, and democratic society, the ability to express a multiplicity of opinions—no matter how far out from the mainstream—is indispensable. It is the only way to insure that all elements of a society have a say in decisions that affect their lives. But after an issue is openly debated and a decision is made in a fair and democratic way, every member of the society must adhere to it, and the leadership must defend it.

On their way to independence, the Zionists had their differences. Some asked, "Why not put off the declaration of independence?" Others countered, "Why accept so little of what the Partition Resolution of 1947 accorded us?" David Ben-Gurion, however, settled the controversy and swayed the majority to his side. When it became necessary, he defended the national consensus with a gun—a gun aimed at the likes of Menachem Begin and other right-wing extremists. In fact, Ben-Gurion went to the extent of sinking the *Altalina* which was loaded with weapons destined for the Etzel terrorist group.

The Palestinians know all too well the alternatives to unity.

Similarly, Charles De Gaulle court-martialled *les pieds-noirs*—the followers of renegade General Raoul Salan in Algeria. When France decided to withdraw from Algeria, Salan unilaterally decided that he and a band of French settlers would fight to keep Algeria under their domain.

The Palestinians know all too well the alternatives to unity.

We must learn and benefit from the experiences of other peoples. For one thing, good leaders, like Charles de Gaulle, do not confine themselves to ivory towers. Good leaders feel the pulse of their people, and they study the history and the needs of their people. Then they lead the people—not as inanimate objects being organized in some greater scheme—but as participants in the decision-making process.

There is little doubt among serious observers that the Palestinian leadership is democratic, fair, and responsive to its people. And unlike Israel in 1948, we know that our unity is the foundation upon which we are building our nascent independent state. Every Palestinian must be willing to submit to national decisions once they have been democratically discussed. The fate of our nation is at stake.

A LIVING MARTYR

The Story of Mohammed Abu Aker

REVEREND DON WAGNER

On Monday, October 3, 1988, over a thousand people visited room #17 at East Jerusalem's Al-Maqassed Hospital. They came to bid *bon voyage* to 17-year-old Mohammed Abu Aker of Dheisheh refugee camp in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. For two months Mohammed had held steadfastly to life when all medical reports indicated that he should be dead. Just two weeks prior, his family was preparing his funeral. Mohammed's intense will to live led the family and medical staff to decide that he should leave for the United States on October 4 for potential life-saving intestinal transplant surgery. If successful, Mohammed's transplant surgery will make medical history as the first functioning intestinal transplant operation.

Mohammed Abu Aker's story is a microcosm of the Palestinian experience. Nearly 40 years ago to the day that Mohammed was shot, his father Naim, then four years old, was riding on a small truck carrying what goods the family could salvage from its village outside Jerusalem. The Abu Akers were among the 750,000 Palestinians forced from their homes in 1948 as the newly declared state of Israel employed various military and psychological forms of terrorism to drive out the indigenous Arab population. Now, 40 years later, Naim was fighting to save his son, a victim of the Israeli military response to the Palestinian Uprising.

Mohammed's plight began on August 6 when he was shot in the abdomen by an Israeli soldier sniping from a rooftop near his house in Dheisheh refugee camp. All was quiet in the usually active refugee camp when Mohammed walked out of his home to visit two friends. Suddenly and without provocation, a soldier zeroed in on Mohammed and pumped a high velocity bullet into his stomach. The bullet exploded on impact and shattered several of Mohammed's internal organs. The boy doubled over on the ground and the soldier fired at his head, missing only by inches.

Later in the day, the Israeli press interviewed the soldier, who was shocked and to find out that Mohammed was still alive. Only swift action by Mohammed's friends had saved him.

Physicians quickly noted the seriousness of the wound, the extensive damage to his internal organs, and the fact that he had lost three liters of blood. The lower section of the duodenum had been lacerated, and ten separate sections of the small intestine were perforated. The ascending colon was torn, and a complete transection had occurred in the interior messenteric vein.

Several bullet fragments had damaged the posterior wall of the stomach. Fragments also lacerated the lesser sac and damaged the body of the pancreas. Surgeons had to remove over 20 metal fragments of the bullet from Mohammed's internal organs, and at least that many still remain in the abdomen. The medical staff placed him on intravenous feeding and closely monitored his condition.

Mohammed's condition deteriorated steadily. By August 19, most of the small intestine and portions

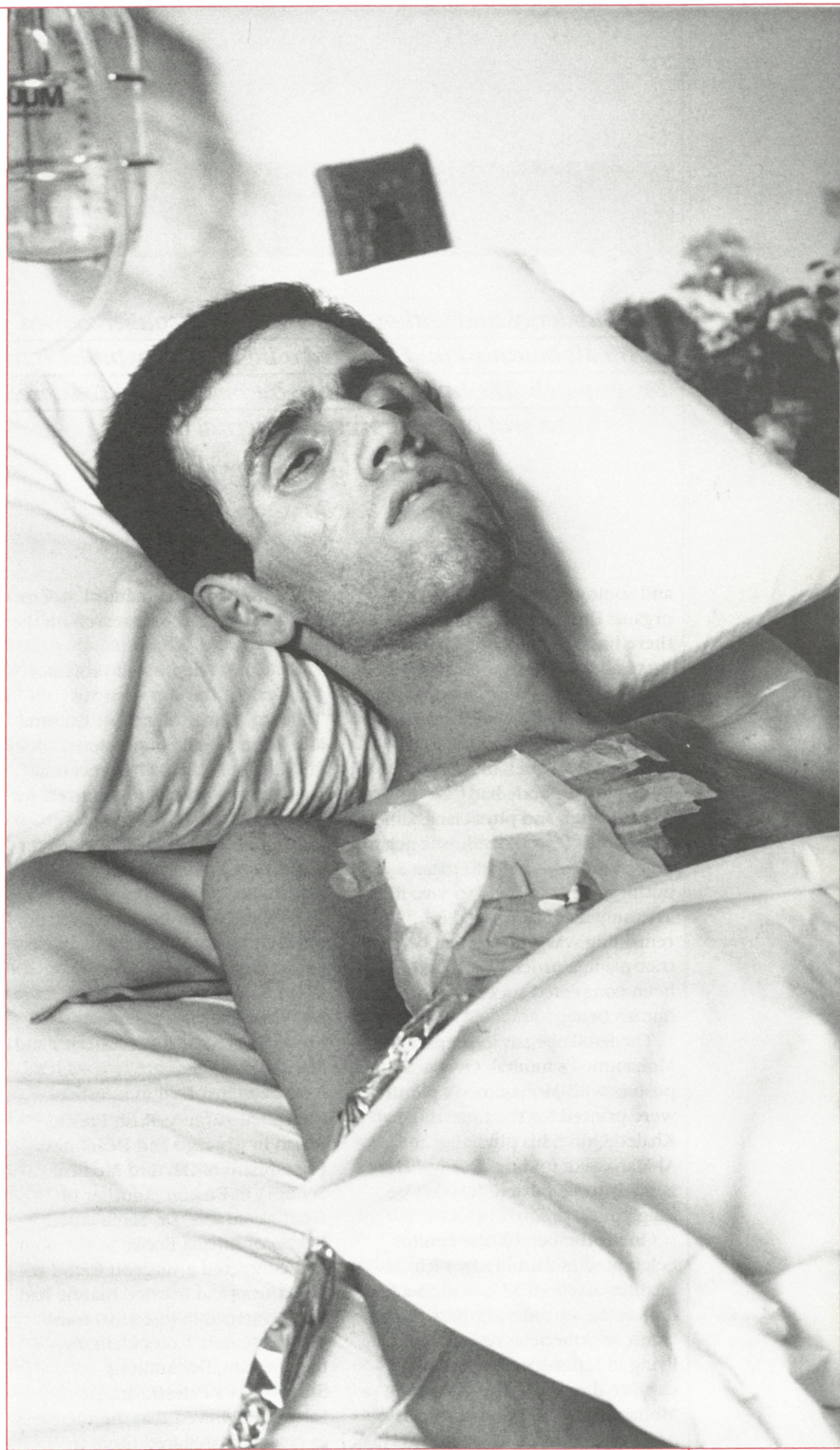
The Reverend Don Wagner is director of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign based in Chicago, Illinois.

of the large had become gangrenous, necessitating a second operation. Surgeons removed most of Mohammed's small intestine and noted the lower surface of his liver had shrunk considerably. Mohammed's weight also dropped dramatically in the two weeks following the shooting, and by the end of August he had lost 45% of his normal body weight.

The intestinal deterioration and gangrene continued. On August 25, the surgical team was forced to open his abdomen again. They removed his gangrenous bowel and over three-quarters of his intestine. Mohammed was now totally dependent on hyperalimentation, an intensive intravenous feeding process that transfers amino acids, dextrose, and important nutrients directly to the bloodstream.

Friends and family had been visiting Mohammed on a regular basis. The Palestinian youth—the *shabab*—organized and prepared hot meals for the Abu Aker family and delivered the food to both the hospital and the Abu Aker home. It is clear that Mohammed was popular, outgoing, and extremely active in various aspects of the camp's life, particularly since the *Intifadah*.

As his physical condition worsened, the number of visitors increased. Friends began to keep an around-the-clock vigil, according to Dr. Dwight Conquergood, an American professor who teaches at Northwestern University. The vigil was maintained for two reasons. One, it is common practice for the Israeli military to seize a body upon death and force the family to bury their relative quietly in the middle of the night with only four or five family members present. Two, there has been constant speculation since early February that the Israelis are tampering with the bodies of young Palestinians killed in the *Intifadah*,



Abu Aker shortly after his arrival in the United States. Roots

Suddenly and without provocation, a soldier zeroed in on Mohammed and pumped a high velocity bullet into his stomach. The bullet exploded on impact and shattered several of Mohammed's internal organs.

and some claim they are stealing organs. Due to a variety of obstacles, there has been no confirmation of these allegations, but there has been a sufficient number of complaints to merit investigation by an impartial international agency.

By the first week of September, Mohammed's body had deteriorated, and physicians, family, and friends feared death was near. Physicians told the family there was nothing they could do to save him. The only medical procedure remaining was an intestinal transplant, a procedure that had not been completed successfully on any human being.

The family began to prepare for Mohammed's funeral. Over 1,500 posters with Mohammed's picture were printed for the funeral. Dr. Khaled Qurie, his physician at Al-Maqassed, told the family, "He is ready to be buried. It won't be long now."

On September 13, the family celebrated Mohammed's 17th birthday in room #17. Within a few days of the birthday, Professor Janet Gunn, an American researcher living in Jerusalem, began to explore the possibility of sending Mohammed to Europe or North America for experimental surgery. Dr. Gunn had been introduced to Mohammed by the medical staff as she was engaged in research on the martyrs of the *Intifadah*.

Dr. Gunn telephoned Professor Jim Graff of the University of Toronto, whose Near East Cultural and Educational Foundation (NECEF) of Canada had recently brought two youths to Montreal for eye surgery. Dr. Graff then contacted several organizations for assistance. The DataBase Project on Palestinian Human Rights and Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) in Chicago, Illinois responded immediately.

Dr. Louise Cainkar of the DataBase Project contacted hospitals across North America and learned that there are two which have been involved in intestinal transplant surgery: Rush Presbyterian in Chicago and Deaconess (an affiliate of Harvard Medical School) in Boston. Another of Graff's contacts, Dr. Samir Abed-Rabbo of Amana Books in Vermont, had contacted a surgeon friend at Deaconess and learned that he had been engaged in intestinal transplant research. Coincidentally, the surgeon, Dr. Anthony Sahyoun, is a Palestinian. Dr. Sahyoun believed that their success in research prepared them to receive a case as serious as Mohammed's.

On September 21, Dr. Sahyoun met with Dr. Chambers, head of the New England Medical Association, to consider options. By Sunday, September 25, the physicians reviewed the case in an extensive telephone conversation with Al-Maqassed Hospital surgeons in Jerusalem. They agreed that the case of Mohammed Abu Aker merited immediate attention and that he should be brought to Deaconess Hospital for treatment as soon as possible.

Dr. Constable of Massachusetts General Hospital, having been acclaimed by Physicians for Human Rights, was brought in as an advisor. He advanced important recommendations concerning the medical options available in Mohammed's case. Among the options explored were hospitals in Europe, the Arab world, and others in North America. After careful consideration of all options and extensive discussions with both the family and Al-Maqassed Hospital, it was determined that Dr. Sahyoun's proposal was by far the most viable.

On September 29, Dr. Sahyoun met with Dr. Anthony Monaco, president of the Organ Transplantation Unit at Deaconess Hospital, and other staff, to refine details in the recommendation to bring Mohammed to Boston. At that meeting, the invitation from Deaconess Hospital was unanimously approved. They decided to invite the boy solely on the merits of the case itself, noting that his life was endangered and that he could not obtain the unique transplant surgery in the Middle East.

OBSTACLES

The invitation was sent to Jerusalem, and the Abu Aker family and friends began extensive preparation for the trip. It was decided that in addition to

Mohammed and his father, Professor Gunn and Dr. Qurie would accompany them. Professor Gunn contacted the American Consulate in East Jerusalem for visas and readily obtained them. She then accompanied Mohammed's father and Dr. Qurie to obtain the travel documents from the Israeli "civil administration." The requests were flatly rejected.

Friends then appealed to Knesset Member Yossi Sarid of the Citizens' Rights Party (RATZ), who took an interest in the case. Sarid put pressure on both the prime minister's office and the "civil administration," demanding that the necessary documents be prepared as soon as possible and that they guarantee Mohammed and his travel companions the right to return to their homes. Sarid's office received word that everything had been approved and the family went to the "civil administration" office to pick up the documents. The staff at the "civil administration" refused to release the documents. Another telephone call to Sarid's office brought an order from the Ministry of Interior, and their immediate release. Sarid later said, "I won't sleep well until I know this boy is on his plane to Boston."

Meanwhile, additional problems were surfacing in Boston and Chicago. PHRC and its travel agent were unable to find a single American commercial airline willing to bring Mohammed to Boston under acceptable conditions. One commercial airline was willing but set an exorbitant price for Mohammed's airfare and refused to allow on the plane the intravenous unit which would keep him alive. Eventually, KLM Royal Dutch Airlines not only agreed to facilitate all aspects of the transcontinental portion of the travel, but kept costs to a manageable level. However, KLM could not find an American carrier to take Mohammed from New York to Boston. Tickets were wired to Jerusalem, but the last leg of the journey remained unresolved. In the end, PHRC booked a private air ambulance service to carry the foursome to Boston.

One commercial airline was willing but set an exorbitant price for Mohammed's airfare and refused to allow on the plane the intravenous unit which would keep him alive.

Another major obstacle on the North American front was the need to raise a $25,000 downpayment to Deaconess Hospital. NECEF, PHRC, and the DataBase Project are all not-for-profit human rights organizations, and they lack financial resources to make such a downpayment. However, their appeals eventually found a ready partner in The Naim Foundation, which had been recently chartered in Washington, D.C. to assist Middle East persons in need of medical treatment that can only be performed in Europe or North America. The Naim Foundation committed itself to raise the entire downpayment and cover the travel expenses as well.

During the October 1-2 weekend, Al-Maqassed Hospital staff made final plans for Mohammed's departure. They called a security official at the Ben-Gurion Airport to check on procedures and were promptly told, "We cannot guarantee that an Arab ambulance will be allowed to enter the airport." The Israeli ambulance service Magen David was then asked, but they replied, "Wait until after the holidays." Finally, the International Committee of the Red Cross agreed to accompany the Maqassed Hospital ambulance to the airport. The family later noted that the Red Cross was extremely helpful. One Red Cross official accompanied the foursome through every security check at the airport to insure they boarded the aircraft.

THE JOURNEY

Several of Mohammed's friends wondered why their highly politicized friend would compromise his principles and travel to the United States for the surgery. After all, it was the United States that was financing Israel's brutal military occupation at the rate of $14 million per day. In all probability, the bullet that wounded Mohammed, like the lethal C.S. tear gas still in daily use, was made in the U.S.A. Mohammed's reply to their question was simply: "My fight to live carries on the fight of the *Intifadah* against the occupation. Why not carry this fight to America?"

Most of the *shabab* accepted his argument. They recognized the

Mohammed's own physicians could not explain how he was alive, aside from his will to live and the prayers and support of his family. Medical officials noted that Mohammed's friends were so loyal that, just prior to his departure, 40-50 young men offered their own intestines as donor organs to replace what their friend had lost.

need for each person to do whatever he can to attain freedom for the Palestinian people. Additionally, they were intensely loyal to this 17-year-old whose will to live had captured everyone's sympathy. Mohammed's own physicians could not explain how he was alive, aside from his will to live and the prayers and support of his family. Medical officials noted that Mohammed's friends were so loyal that, just prior to his departure, 40-50 young men offered their own intestines as donor organs to replace what their friend had lost.

At 8:00 pm (Eastern Standard Time) Mohammed Abu Aker and his three companions arrived at Boston's Logan Airport in the tiny Cessna air ambulance. It was a cold and rainy night and the plane was two hours late. Most of the media had already left but 50-60 Arab Americans—many of whom are members of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates welcomed the weary travelers with Palestinian hospitality. Two reporters remained and they appealed to Drs. Sahyoun and Monaco to allow them to see Mohammed for one photograph. The surgeons were reluctant, wondering what condition the young man would be in after nearly 20 hours of travel. Airport security was reluctant to allow the ambulance to stop for the press and the large welcoming committee from the Arab-American community, so Dr. Louise Cainkar negotiated an agreement for a 60-second photo session.

A large crowd walked through the rain to the ambulance, and attendants opened the door. Mohammed was unusually alert. He gradually raised his arm, and a slight smile came over his face. Then he flashed the V-sign for victory, a clear confirmation that indeed the *Intifadah* had come to the shores of the United States.

UPDATE

On Thursday, October 6, 1988, Mohammed took his first steps since August 6. Physicians and nurses are amazed by his determination and extraordinary spirit. The two nurses assigned to monitor his situation have developed a special relationship with Mohammed. He will teach them Arabic, and they will begin giving him English lessons. Dr. Sahyoun and the staff are impressed with the amazing psychological condition in which Mohammed arrived, despite what he has been through. By week two (October 12), Mohammed was walking on his own accord and beginning to care for himself. Dr. Sahyoun and the medical team are studying when they might begin the intestinal transplant surgery that Mohammed and his family eagerly anticipate. If the doctors are successful, Mohammed Abu Aker will be the first beneficiary of intestinal transplant surgery.

Over $75,000 is needed to pay for the operation and to cover expenses for the two to three months following the surgery. The Naim Foundation has launched a national campaign to "Save Mohammed Abu Aker." Contributions are desperately needed. Tax-exempt donations can be sent to:

The Mohammed Abu Aker Fund
c/o The Naim Foundation
2812 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 3
Washington, D.C. 20008. ■

EGYPT RE-EMERGES

IN THE POLITICS OF THE ARAB WORLD

BISHARA A. BAHBAH

Egypt's most ambitious political initiative in the Arab world has been unfolding. In October, President Husni Mubarak of Egypt brokered a key meeting in Aqaba, Jordan, between PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein.

This initiative marked Egypt's most serious attempt to play a key role in unifying Arab positions regarding a settlement with Israel.

Egypt's ability to convene the meeting between Arafat and Hussein was viewed as a triumph of Egyptian diplomacy. More importantly, it was perceived as a milestone in the restoration of normal ties between Egypt and the rest of the Arab world. These ties were broken in 1979 following Egypt's "peace" treaty with Israel.

Bishara A. Bahbah, the editor-in-chief of The Return, *interviewed His Excellency Abdul Raouf El-Reedy, Egypt's ambassador to the United United States, to discuss Egypt's emerging role in Arab politics.*

Q: Over the past several weeks, Egypt has been playing an active role toward resolving the Palestine question. Could you explain why?

Egypt's role is emerging as an indispensable one because of the vacuum that exists.

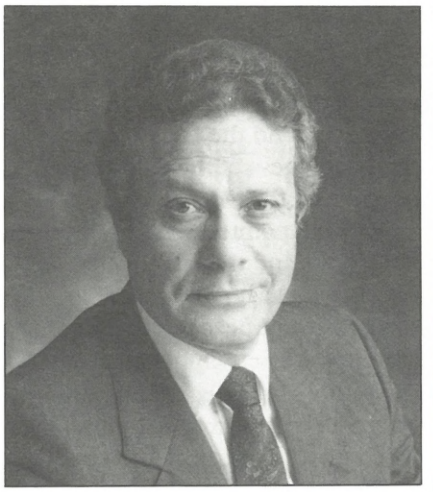
Everyone contacts Egypt: the PLO, the United States, Israel, the Soviet Union, China, Jordan, among others. Egypt is not looking for a role to play. Nevertheless, it is careful to fulfill its obligations toward the Palestinian people.

Q: What has the Aqaba summit between Arafat, Mubarak, and Hussein achieved?

The fact that the meeting was held is a triumph in and of itself. Secondly, the mood was positive and conducive to coordinating a better Arab stance toward peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Q: Is it true that the timing of the meeting was intended to send a message to Israeli voters, encouraging them to support Shimon Peres of the Labor party who supports a land-for-peace settlement?

If it appeared as such, it was not intentional. Egypt, however, is



Ambassador Abdul Raouf El-Reedy.

trying to convince everyone of the need to move forward with the peace initiative.

Q: As Egypt's Ambassador to the United States, what have you been able to do to change U.S. policy toward the Palestinians?

During the September meeting between our Foreign Minister, Ismat Abdul Maguid, and President Ronald Reagan, Egypt brought up the issue of the plight of the Palestinian people. President Reagan, at the time, stated that the Palestinian people were entitled to political rights.

Personally, I presented a copy of Arafat's speech to the European Parliament to Secretary of State George Shultz. We also had a chance to discuss it.

What Egypt plans to do is demonstrate, particularly to the Americans and the Israelis, the reasonableness of the Palestinian people and their demands.

We have pointed out to both the Americans and the Israelis that the PLO is taking a very reasonable stance toward peace in the Middle East. Arafat's September speech to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, came very close, in its content, to meeting the conditions set forth by the United States to enter into a dialogue with the PLO.

What Egypt plans to do is demonstrate, particularly to the Americans and the Israelis, the reasonableness of the Palestinian people and their demands.

We have impressed upon both the Americans and the Israelis to heed the inevitability that the people of Palestine will reclaim their rights.

President Mubarak, during his most recent trip to Western Europe, urged the European leaders to take a more active role in helping solve the Palestine question.

Q: What is your reaction to the recent statements by Richard Murphy, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern Affairs, that the PLO has a role to play and excercises influence over events in the Middle East?

Better late than never.

Q: Did Egypt play any role in trying to convince the Palestinians to postpone the meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC) until after the Israeli and American elections?

Egypt only advised the Palestinians that there was no need to play into the hands of Israeli extremists. Why should the Palestinians formulate policy statements before these elections since the results of these elections could have a direct impact on what the Palestinians decide to do?

Waiting until after the Israeli elections will enable the Palestinians to make decisions while knowing who their peace partners might be.

Q: What is Egypt's position on the declaration of a Palestinian provisional government?

We do not want to interfere in Palestinian affairs. Nevertheless, Egypt has told the Palestinians since 1971 that the idea of a provisional government is a good one. It would give Palestinians more flexibility on the diplomatic front. ■

Q. Does *The Return* accept advertisements?

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NOBODY IS TALKING

Israel's Chemical Weapons Threat To The Arabs

JANE HUNTER

Despite concerns in the West that the Arab governments are producing chemical weapons and threatening Israel, there is little said about Israel's ability to produce chemical weapons, and even less said about Israel's chemical threat to the Arab nations. Many analysts do not believe that the Arab countries pose as serious a threat as Israel poses.

In fact, the Israelis themselves fail to take seriously the threat of chemical weapons being used against them. Western reporters have dutifully filed stories from Israel about the mass distribution of gas masks and protective gear and about chemical-warfare drills in schools. However, only occasionally have they noted the difficulty Israel has had in preventing the public from treating the gas masks like toys, or in generating much popular concern at all at the prospect of a gas attack.

In the past, the Israeli public's lack of concern echoed the opinions of several Israeli experts, who do not believe that Syria or any other Arab government would launch a first strike against Israel using chemical weapons. They contend that Arab governments regard chemical weapons as a counter-threat to Israel's nuclear weapons and would only use them as a response to an all-out Israeli nuclear attack.

And the Arab countries have good reason to come up with a deterrent to such an attack. In a poll conducted earlier this year for the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies of Tel Aviv University, only 47% of the 1,850 Jewish Israelis surveyed deemed the use of nuclear weapons unacceptable.

As late as last April, General Dan Shomron, the Israeli military chief of staff, said that Egypt had developed and stockpiled chemical weapons before 1967 and that Syria had had them before 1973, but that neither country had used them against Israel, even when they were at a military disadvantage.

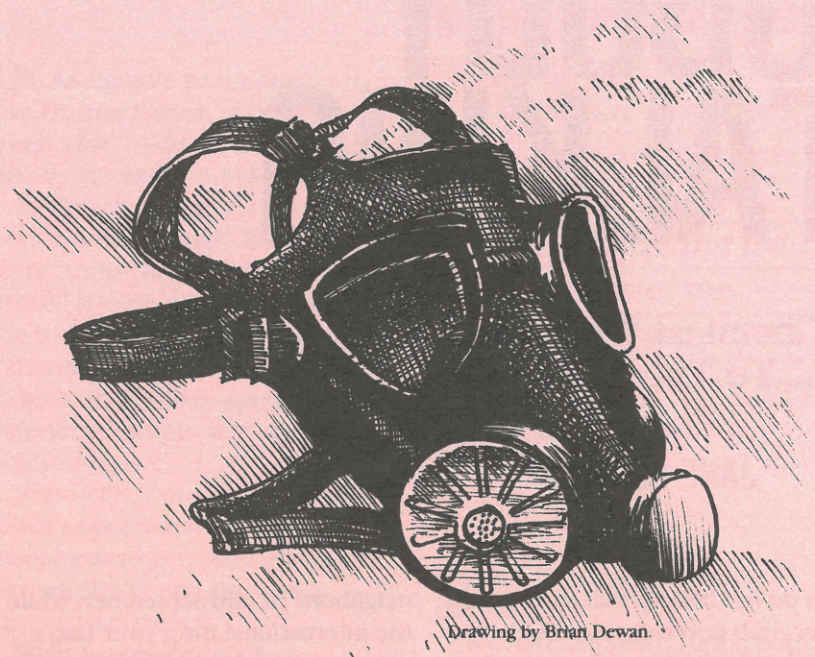
On the other hand, there is mounting evidence that Israel is amassing a chemical-weapons arsenal to be used against its Arab neighbors. In mid-September, while the international furor over Iraq's reported use of chemical weapons was at its height, Israel was reported to be accelerating its own offensive chemical-warfare program. It received no attention in the popular media, but the report in the authoritative weekly *Defense and Foreign Affairs* is important as it is the first to clearly identify Israel as a chemical-weapons state.

Previous reports have noted only that Israel was suspected of possessing chemical weapons and have usually focused on Israeli fears of a poison-gas attack from Syria or Iraq, especially one delivered by surface-to-surface missiles. This new report calls into question the sincerity of Israel's frequent portrayal of itself as a potential victim of chemical weapons.

An American analyst quoted by *Defense and Foreign Affairs* emphasized that Israel was producing "far more sophisticated nerve agents" than Syria. In addition, the International Institute for Strategic Studies has issued a report listing Israel as one of the top chemical-weapons-capable

Jane Hunter is editor of the monthly publication Israeli Foreign Affairs.

Israel's Use of Tear Gas



Drawing by Brian Dewan.

Palestinians and the whole world are very acutely aware of one item in Israel's arsenal of chemical weapons: tear gas.

Despite, documentation from a number of sources that Israel was using tear gas in lethal doses, and despite protests from the Palestinians under occupation as well as international humanitarian organizations, Israel continued to use deadly amounts of tear gas as a weapon against the *Intifadah*. It was finally the supplier of the tear gas, TransTechnology Corporation of California, that responded to protests over Israel's heavy use of its tear gas in enclosed dwellings. In the end, TransTechnology refused to renew Israel's contract to purchase the gas.

But still, the Israeli use of tear gas in enclosed areas continues to cause many Palestinian deaths and miscarriages. And although Israel's lethal use of tear gas has been documented by medical specialists of several nationalities, the U.S. Congress has yet to say a word about it. ■

nations in the world.

But no one in the United States seems concerned about Israel's chemical-weapons capability. The news of Israel's chemical-weapons program came just when Congress, reacting almost instantaneously to allegations that Iraq had used chemical agents against the Kurdish minority, voted harsh economic sanctions against Iraq. In introducing the sanctions legislation, Senator Claiborne Pell, the Rhode Island Democrat who chairs the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, poignantly evoked the Nazi Holocaust:

> For the second time in this century a brutal dictatorship is using deadly gas to exterminate a distinct ethnic minority. There can be no doubt that the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein intends this campaign to be a final solution to the Kurdish problem.

In Israel, the leaders continue to portray themselves as victims in a hypothetical war where chemical weapons would be used. Several days after Senator Pell's remarks, Israeli Justice Minister Avraham Sharir mentioned the "possibility" of an attack on Iraqi chemical factories. The implication is that Israel must eliminate the threat of hostile chemical weapons—but its own chemical weapons capability is not even mentioned.

Sharir's scarcely veiled threat brought a rapid response from Iraq, which charged that the American campaign against it was meant to provide a pretext for an Israeli attack on its factories. On September 17, Iraq warned Israel not to contemplate such an attack and hinted that, unlike in 1981 when Israel bombed its nuclear reactor, Iraq is now capable of retaliating.

In April 1984, Israel reported on its Arabic-language radio service that it was being encouraged by the United States Army to destroy five alleged underground chemical plants in Iraq. Early this year, Israel let it be known that it had plans for a preemptive attack on what it described as Syria's secret nerve-gas plant. Syria denied that it had such a plant.

In addition, Israel seems to be taking the threat of chemical war more seriously lately. On October 5, the Israeli newspaper *Maariv* reported that the Israeli army will distribute gas masks to the citizens of two Israeli towns, Ramat Hasharon and Shalomi, in a pilot project to test whether citizens can be trained to treat them seriously and maintain them properly. This program, like the report on Israel's sophisticated chemical weaponry, may indicate that Israel is preparing for a chemical war. Yet the rhetoric coming from Israeli leaders, American leaders, and the press continues to portray Israel as the hypothetical victim of Arab chemical weapons. ■

SANCTITY VIOLATED

Palestinian Hospitals Under Siege

JUDITH GABRIEL

There are no sanctuaries in the Occupied Territories. There is no safe passage for the men and women in white. Palestinian hospitals are under siege.

Case in point: Israeli soldiers stand guard outside Ramallah Hospital. Inside the faded hospital walls, the already overworked staff mobilizes to handle the wounded being brought in from a pre-dawn attack. Every inch of the hospital is filled. An ambulance pulls up, and a doctor rushes toward it. But an Israeli soldier bars him with his rifle. The doctor, furious and helpless, looks at a small group of journalists also forbidden access to the wounded teenagers inside the ambulance.

This interference with medical procedure has become a common occurrence, the doctor says; and he notes that it is a violation of international law. Nonetheless, since the beginning of the Palestinian Uprising in December, 1987, the time-honored sanctity of the hospital has been violated over and over again. There are many well-documented reports detailing how soldiers have repeatedly stormed hospitals, blitzed wards with tear gas and rubber bullets, seized patients from their beds, and even assaulted doctors, nurses, and other hospital staff.

Soldiers have raided West Bank and Gaza hospitals claiming that protesters were using the hospitals as hiding places. All too often, however, they want to arrest those who have been injured and wounded in previous confrontations with the army, dragging them off to prison or detention camps. This has served to deter many from seeking hospital care, and it has placed health professionals directly in the line of attack.

In early March, when soldiers broke into a West Bank hospital, doctors asked to see an order allowing them to enter. The soldiers struck two of the doctors with their weapons, slammed one against the wall, and proceeded to beat and drag off two young Palestinian patients.

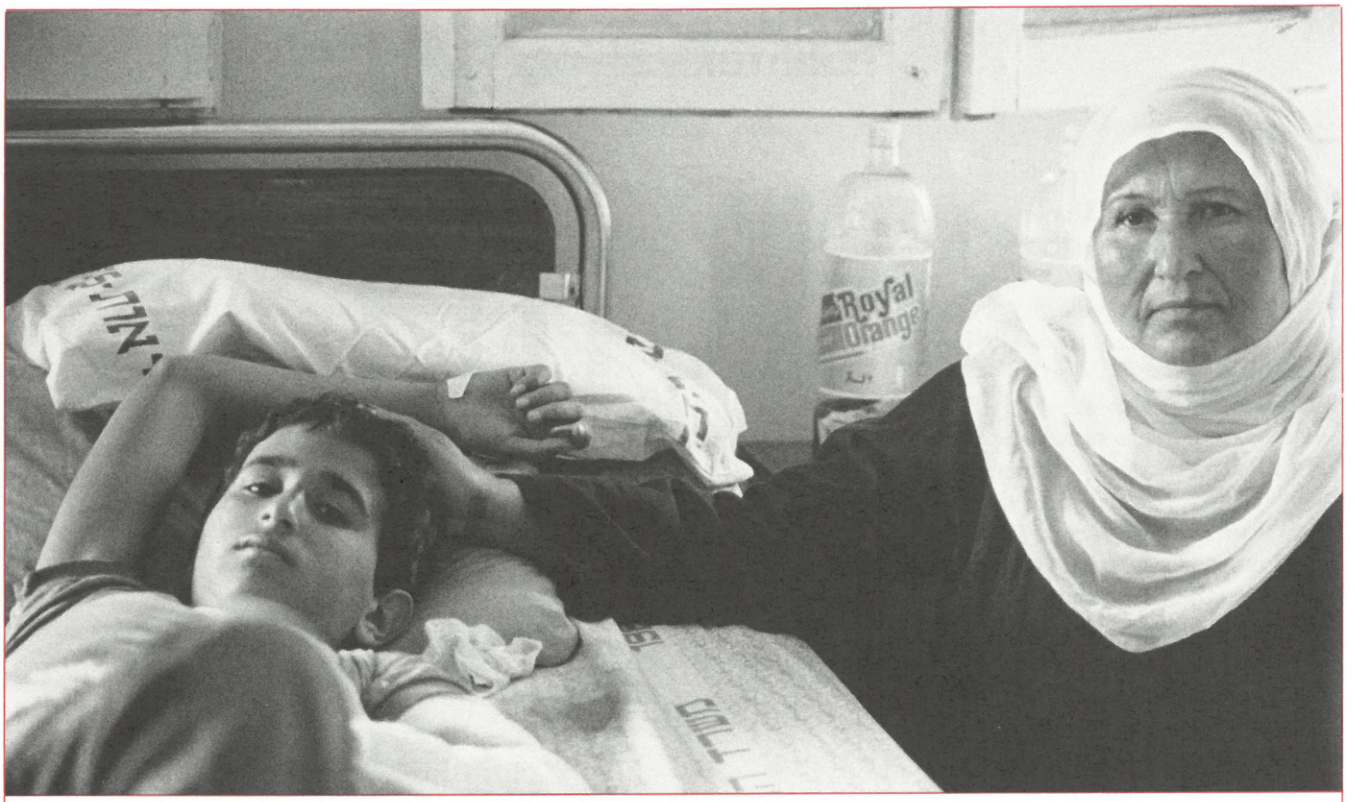
One of the most chilling incidents of this type occurred in mid-March. During an *Intifadah*-related clash, one youth had been shot in the stomach. A few hours after he was operated on, and after a crowd of supporters and relatives had dispersed, Israeli soldiers sealed off the hospital, declared it a military area, and closed it to the media. Then soldiers broke into the wounded youth's room and beat him in the stomach, where he had just undergone the operation.

In a show of protest, doctors and hospital staff staged a one-day strike at the hospital.

Amnesty International described a situation on Christmas Day when soldiers opened fire with live ammunition in front of Al-Shifa Hospital in Gaza.

> Soldiers stormed the hospital compound, scuffling with nurses and doctors who tried to prevent them from taking wounded youths away for questioning . . . . Doctors and nurses were highly agitated and complained that an Israeli officer . . . had kicked and beaten hospital staff trying to

Judith Gabriel is a free-lance journalist and photographer. On a trip to the West Bank and Gaza Strip late last spring, she visited several hospitals.



A mother comforting her son who was beaten by Israeli soldiers. Judith Gabriel

attend to the injured youths wanted for questioning. A nurse, her smashed fingers bandaged and her body badly bruised, said she had been hit with a rifle butt and kicked on her legs and ribs as she fought to keep a gunshot victim from Israeli soldiers. "He may die," she protested. The Israeli soldiers, she said, replied "Let him die. Palestine is lost."

There are 25 hospitals in the Occupied Territories, with about 3,000 beds altogether. Physicians, nurses, and other medical staff commonly work double shifts. They work in chokingly crowded conditions, without the benefit of sophisticated equipment, and often under siege. On the other hand, Israel has 140 hospitals with a capacity of nearly 27,000 beds.

Al-Shifa Hospital, for example, was built in the 1950's when Gaza was being administered by Egypt. Al-Shifa has no modern operating suite and no intensive care units. Yet, it serves as the major medical emergency center for 650,000 people.

And the situation is getting worse. According to Dr. Mohammad Jadallah, head of the Union of Health Care Committees on the West Bank and Gaza—

> The number of hospitals now is less than what we had 20 years ago. The general clinics in many towns and cities were closed down. Hospitals have been taken over and turned into prisons and police headquarters. Furthermore, there has been a 7% budget decrease for the government hospitals (in the Occupied Territories) every three or four years. In the private sector, the limitations are even more prohibitive. We are not allowed to have more staff, we are not allowed to have the needed equipment.

Funding has become even more problematic in the wake of severe restrictions laid out by occupation authorities since the Uprising began.

In addition to the hospitals, there are ten small institutions in the Occupied Territories which care for the physically and mentally disabled. But there are now thousands of

A report issued by Physicians for Human Rights, an American organization of health professionals concerned with protection of international human rights, pointed to an "uncontrolled epidemic of violence by soldiers and police on a scale and degree of severity that poses the most serious medical, ethical, and legal problems."

Palestinians in need of special care, according to Dr. Rustum Namari, director of Al-Maqassed Hospital.

At the same time, there is a serious lack of qualified staff. According to Dr. Jadallah, there are only 12 professionals with four years or more training as physical therapy specialists in the entire West Bank and Gaza Strip.

West Bank and Gaza medical students cannot attend Israeli medical schools. They must obtain their undergraduate training, and most of their graduate medical training, abroad. Palestinian doctors who want to specialize in fields such as neurosurgery receive only two years of residency in Israeli hospitals, then are returned to practice. They are referred to as "half-trained specialists."

In the first nine months of the *Intifadah*, more than 20,000 Palestinians who were injured or wounded sought medical care at hospitals and clinics. The full number of wounded cannot be determined since many victims did not seek medical attention in the hospitals for fear of being arrested.

Just getting the wounded to a hospital has often been a major battle in itself. Ambulances are prevented from reaching the wounded at the site. Seriously injured persons have to be brought later in private cars, in the backs of panel trucks, sometimes carried in the arms of a friend or relative. Many have bled to death before they could be admitted to a hospital.

Other kinds of interference with medical care are reported by physicians, who describe being delayed repeatedly as Israeli troops carry out multiple searches of ambulances and even of their personal cars. There have been accounts of Israeli soldiers ordering doctors to jack up their cars and remove all the wheels for searches, or to lift and carry stones from the road.

Israel Radio reported that one doctor was arrested after removing a bullet from a 20-year-old Palestinian woman who had been shot while shopping for her upcoming wedding. The doctor was charged with "attempting to conceal evidence" because soldiers found the bullet in the surgeon's pocket. The woman later died.

Curfews also prevent the sick and injured from getting to a hospital. At each of the 28 refugee camps in the Occupied Territories, there is a clinic run by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees (UNRWA). When a curfew is in effect in the camps, which is often the case, residents are not allowed to leave their homes, even if the clinics are open.

Ellen Siegel, a Jewish-American nurse who recently visited the Occupied Territories, reported that one of the impacts of curfew on the civilian population is that diabetics are unable to get their insulin for several days. In an attempt to combat such situations, Seigel noted that,

> medical relief teams are going around to peoples' homes and trying to teach them how to give themselves insulin. They are doing a lot of preventive and home treatment type of medicine and teaching.

During the curfews, medical personnel often take great risks by sneaking into the camps to treat patients or by letting patients come to them. One night, in violation of curfew orders, a Gaza physician opened the door of his home to let in a woman with a sick child. Soldiers subsequently dragged the doctor from his home, beat him with clubs, propped him on the hood of an army jeep and drove down the street until he fell off. A protest strike by Al-Shifa Hospital staff resulted in an apology from the area military commander, but the soldiers involved were not punished.

The Union of Health Care Committees on the West Bank and Gaza, run by Dr. Jadallah, is a network of physicians, health workers, dietitians, laboratory workers, and dentists who staff clinics in villages and camps. Medical teams in "mobile clinics" often go directly into the midst of demonstrations and confrontations to treat the wounded. UNRWA and the Red Cross offer similar traveling clinics.

According to Ellen Siegel, "there are medical relief teams with doctors and nurses and other health personnel, but the Israeli authorities consider these voluntary organizations to be popular committees, and popular committees are now banned. The voluntary relief teams are continuing to operate anyway. But of course the situation gets more severe as time goes by." The American nurse is no stranger to the medical problems besetting Palestinians. She worked as a nurse in Sabra refugee camp in West Beirut during the 1982 massacre and later testified before the Kahan Commission of Inquiry in Jerusalem.

The nature of the injuries coming into the hospitals compounds the difficulties in the administration of medical practice. What health-care workers must deal with is not the "normal" caseload of heart attacks, childbirths, and appendecitises. A report issued by Physicians for Human Rights, an American organization of health professionals concerned with protection of international human rights, pointed to an "uncontrolled epidemic of violence by soldiers and police on a scale and degree of severity that poses the most serious medical, ethical, and legal problems."

Recently, the number of injuries has increased dramatically as soldiers have been allowed to fire plastic bullets freely to break up demonstrations. At least two of the

demonstrators killed one day in late September were shot with plastic bullets, according to hospital officials. In late September, the United States officially denounced the use of the bullets, with the U.S. State Department declaring it could see no justification "for a policy admittedly designed to cause an increase in casualties."

It was not the first time that the international community had protested Israeli violence that appeared designed specifically to punish or to maim.

Rafidi government hospital in Nablus was labeled "the bone hospital" by local doctors because it was receiving so many victims with crushed hands, part of the "might, power, and beatings" policy declared in January by Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

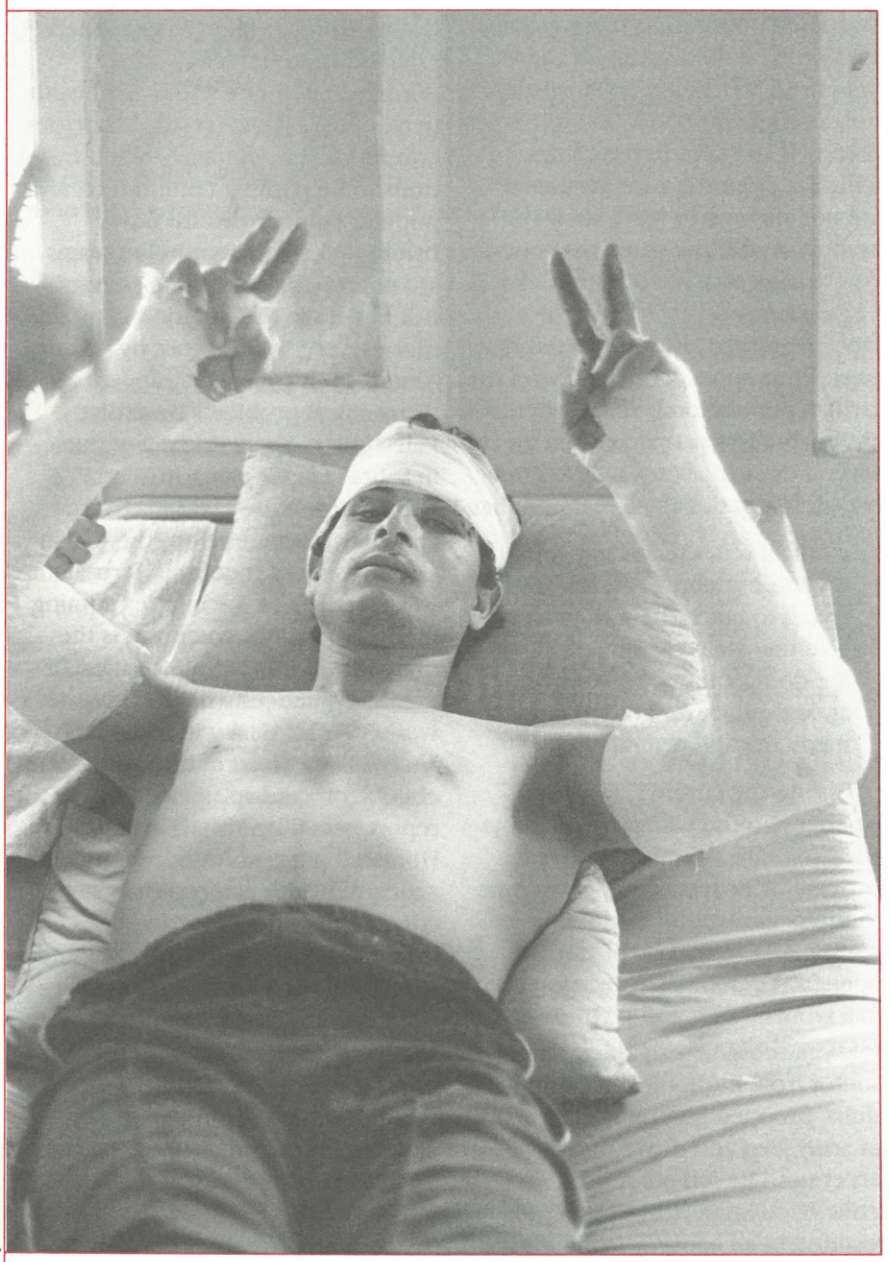
In increasing attempts to quash the Uprising, the injured have also been dealt some frustrating economic blows. The military authorities issued new hospitalization regulations as of July 5, demanding that patients admitted for treatment, including those injured in *Intifadah* incidents, must be charged about $170 a night. Furthermore, they must pay for three nights in advance upon admission and must pay in advance again at the end of the three days if they need further treatment.

The move produced a swell of protest. Directors of the government hospitals issued a statement declaring that they would not abide by the new rule, and the West Bank Physicians' Union issued a statement calling upon the international community to protest the measure, which they said endangered the lives of Palestinians.

An organization called Doctors Committee for Aid and Information, a group of Palestinian and Jewish physicians in Israel, openly went to Israeli hospitals in Jerusalem telling them to ignore the rule, distributing a leaflet urging them not to deny health care to the Palestinians just because they do not have three nights' payment in advance. The Doctor's Committee for Aid is also working to free those Palestinian nurses and physicians who are being held in administrative detention.

Meanwhile, as human rights groups continue to point to the Israeli violations of international law in blocking medical attention for people in need of it, the medical personnel of the *Intifadah* carry on their work in the face of overwhelming barriers.

Said one Palestinian, "Doctors and nurses are the unsung heroes of the *Intifadah*. Thousands of us would not be alive today without their efforts." ■



Judith Gabriel

A young Palestinian, whose arms were broken by Israeli soldiers, in his hospital bed.

THE PALESTINIAN VOTE

In The Israeli Elections of 1988

SHUKRI ABED

About 320,000 of the 800,000 Palestinians living in Israel are eligible to vote. In 1984, about 230,000 of them voted in the Israeli elections. That number is a little over 10% of the total 1984 voter turnout and was sufficient to capture 14-15 of the 120 seats in Israel's Knesset had the Palestinians voted as a bloc. Writing in his widely acclaimed book, *Arab and Jew, Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land*, David K. Shipler states that a Palestinian bloc of 10-13 seats "would probably [constitute] the third largest party in the legislature, with pivotal power to determine which major party leads the coalition. As it is, however, the Palestinian vote is quite fragmented."

But there is little to indicate that the *Intifadah* will increase Palestinian-Israeli voter turnout this year or their voting as a bloc.

A recent poll conducted among Palestinian voters in Israel and published in the popular Israeli newspaper *Yediot Ahronot* on October 10, indicates that "non-Jews" lean toward Palestinian parties—parties which are associated with Palestinians and are supported primarily by Palestinian voters.

The three parties the poll is referring to are Hadash, otherwise known as the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality; Ha-Mitkademot, or the Progressive List for Peace (PLP); and the Democratic Arab Party (DAP). Historically, Palestinians within the green line have tended to lean toward one of only two center-of-left Israeli political parties: either Hadash or the PLP. Both are non-Zionist, ethnically mixed parties that call for full equality, peaceful coexistence, and two states. The DAP was formed when Member of Knesset Abdel Wahab Darawshe left the Labor party last February to protest Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin's harsh policies toward the *Intifadah*.

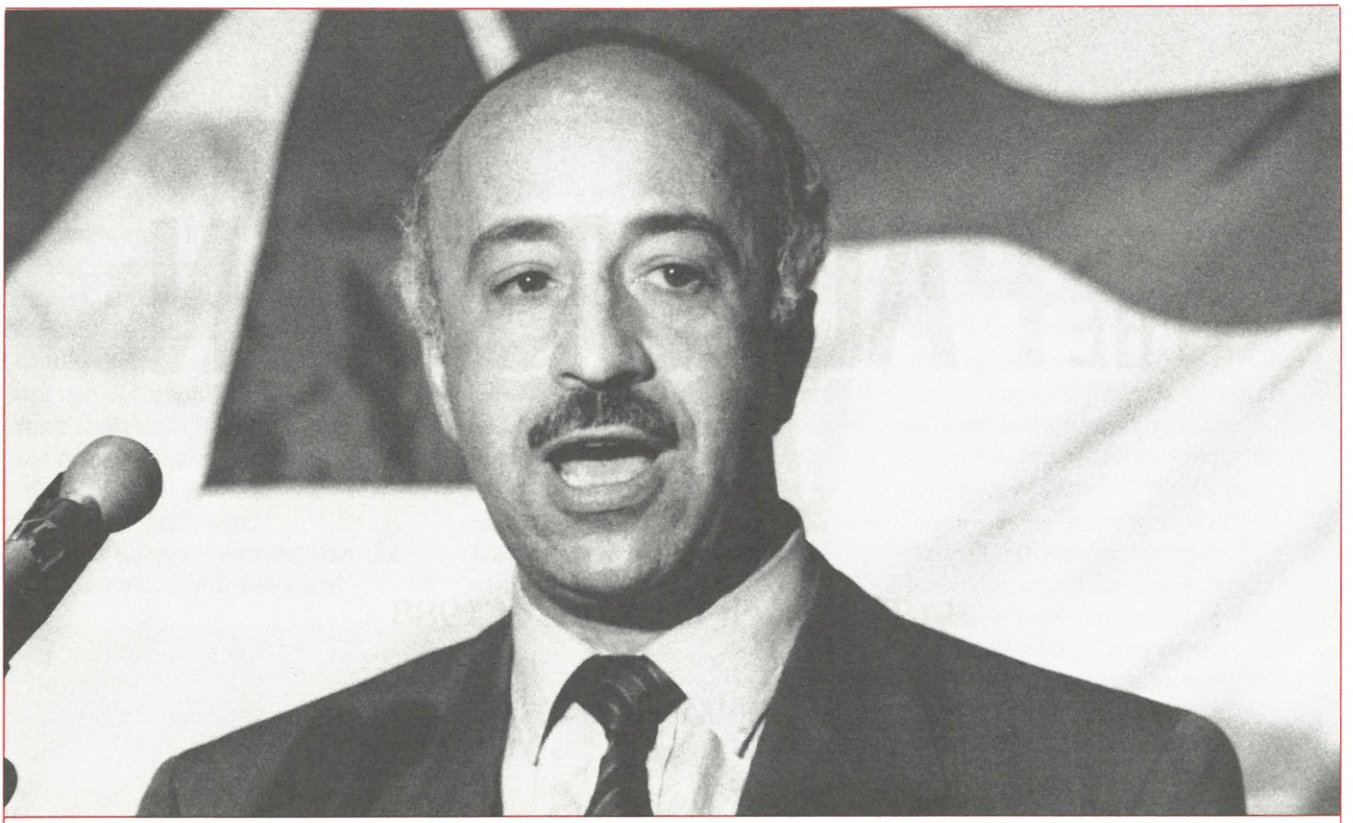
These parties carry little weight in the Israeli government. According to the *Yediot Ahronot* poll, the three combined will get 8-9 seats in the Israeli elections to be held on November 1, 1988. The poll predicts that Hadash will get about five seats, leaving, more or less, two seats for the PLP and the DAP.

The poll also predicts that the rest of the Palestinian votes will be distributed among Zionist parties in the following manner: Labor, two seats; Likud, one seat; and RATZ (Citizens Rights Movement), one seat. The Center and Mapam parties will each win about a "half a seat" each.

The *Intifadah* has engendered a significant change in the Palestinian voters' attitudes toward the Zionist parties in general and the Labor party in particular. The Labor party had traditionally enjoyed strong Palestinian backing. In the 1984 elections for example, about 53,000 Palestinian Israelis voted for the Labor party and about 12,000 voted for Ezer Weizman's Yahad party, which later joined forces with Labor. The total votes, 65,000, matched the votes cast for Hadash in those elections.

In the forthcoming elections, however, things will be different. Palestinians in Israel are far from enthusiastic about voting for a party that has Rabin in second place, a party that has a history of support-

Shukri Abed holds a Ph.D. from Harvard University. He is a free-lance writer based in Jerusalem.



Knesset member Abdel Wahab Darawshe, head of the Democratic Arab Party. Nancy Shia/courtesy of NAAA

ing Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories, and a party which is perceived as not having the power to make clear-cut decisions concerning the Palestine question. The Labor party and its leader, Shimon Peres, are perceived among Palestinians as zigzagging since they cannot face up to the reality that there cannot be peace without the Palestinians. The Palestinian vote for the Labor party is expected to shrink rather significantly, and this could be a decisive factor for Labor, which is trying to beat Likud and form a coalition government with left-of-center and religious parties.

The Likud, Tehiya, Tsomet, and other right-wing parties do not enjoy Palestinian sympathy or support primarily because of their harsh and uncompromising attitudes toward the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular. None of these parties is seen as an alternative to Labor from the Palestinian voters' point of view. Similar statements can be made about the various religious parties, including Mafdal, the national religious party, which had managed in the past to open avenues with

Palestinians in Israel are far from enthusiastic about voting for a party [Labor] that has Rabin in second place, a party that has a history of supporting Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories, and a party which is perceived as not having the power to make clear-cut decisions concerning the Palestine question.

Palestinian voters during the many years it was in charge of the ministry of interior, where the money for local councils is budgeted. None of these parties counts on or expects massive Palestinian support. There is Druze support for the Likud and a Druze member of Knesset with the Likud, but the Druze vote translates more or less into one seat in the Knesset.

Nowadays, many Palestinian voters feel that they should not vote. Some consider a boycott of the elections to be the best way to protest the harsh policies of the coalition government. Others have given up on their ability to affect any change, either in the area of equal rights for Palestinians living in Israel or in finding a just solution for the Palestine problem. As a matter of fact, Abna' Al-Balad ("Sons of the Village"), a Palestinian political group, has officially boycotted the Israeli elections because its adherents do not believe that the Palestinian struggle can be won in the Knesset—the symbol of Zionism and the Zionist nature of the state of Israel.

Based on previous turnouts for

Israeli elections, Palestinian participation in this election is expected to be high. About 70% of the 320,000 Palestinians eligible to vote will probably do so. This means that they should be able to get about 10 seats in the Knesset.

At least half of the Palestinian voters are expected to cast their votes for Hadash, thus giving it about 4-5 seats in the Knesset. For years, Hadash has championed Palestinian interests, both through its parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activities. During the 11 months of the *Intifadah*, Hadash has intensified its campaign against Israel's policies in the Occupied Territories, thus winning more Palestinian support. This new support will probably translate into an additional seat in the Knesset.

The PLP, which won two seats in the 1984 elections, has disappointed many of those who voted for it. Even some of its founders have deserted it and joined ranks with Hadash, Mapam, or RATZ.

The PLP is expected to regain its two seats only if the Islamic bloc, which is becoming increasingly powerful, backs it. Until now, the leaders of the Islamic movement in Israel have not been clear on this issue, at least not publicly. One thing is certain, the Islamic bloc, for ideological reasons, will not support any of the Zionist parties (including those identified as leftist), nor will it support Hadash because of its communist ideology. Still, the leaders of the Islamic bloc believe that the Palestinians in Israel should exercise their right to vote. Therefore, members of the Islamic bloc are left with the choice of voting either for the progressive left or for the newly formed Arab party, the DAP. If the latter wins the Islamic bloc's support, it is likely that it will win two seats in the Knesset.

The Democratic Arab Party is the only party that has no Jewish candidates, nor is it expected to get Jewish votes. In this sense, the DAP is different from Hadash and the PLP, both of which have equal numbers of Palestinian and Jewish candidates for the Knesset. Although both parties rely heavily on Palestinian support and votes, the Jewish vote for either of these parties is slim and, therefore, does not justify the equal number of Jews and Palestinians on their lists of candidates for the Knesset.

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There is another factor that differentiates the DAP from its two competitors. The declared purpose of the DAP is to join a coalition with any party which recognizes the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people—including their right to self-determination. The founders of this party—many of whom, like Knesset Member Darawshe himself, are former Labor members and supporters—believe that the Palestinians in Israel ought to exercise their rights as citizens and should be partners in the decision-making process of the government. They believe that the Palestinian vote should be cast, not only to protest certain policies but to change those policies that have relevance for the Palestinians, with the Palestine question topping the list.

The DAP presents itself as a party willing and able to enter into coalitions to work from the inside. This image, however, does not seem to come through to many Palestinian voters. Many are convinced that this party was formed by Labor activists in order to channel back to Labor the Palestinian vote that normally would go to that party. The prevailing feeling among the Palestinians is that this party was designed to minimize the damage caused by Rabin's policies in the Occupied Territories among Palestinian voters. Yet, Labor will probably win a seat or two from Palestinian voters in the forthcoming elections.

Finally, the growing political pragmatism among Palestinian voters is also the reason for their increased support for leftist parties. These may be willing and able to join the government in a coalition. Both RATZ and Mapam have adopted satisfactory positions on the Palestine question. Partly due to the appealing stands of Yosi Sarid on the Palestine issue, RATZ in particular is poised to make surprising gains among Palestinian voters. ■

A PRESCRIPTION FOR PEACE

The Role Of The New U.S. Administration In The Middle East

GEOFFREY ARONSON

For a generation, the Middle East has been a prime arena for Cold War competition. A spiralling regional arms race, wars of increasing destruction, militarization, the complementary impoverishment of domestic economies, and the growing power of repressive internal security institutions are the fruits of this contest.

Despite what must necessarily be a cautious estimate of the ability of any outside power to shape the region according to its preferences, the United States needs to promote a bold, comprehensive program aimed at defusing military confrontation, resolving Arab and Israeli demands, and promoting economic development. The resolution of these issues requires a level of integrated, multilateral cooperation which the principals to the conflict alone cannot provide. This program demands leadership from the United States and the Soviet Union, and the support of their allies, for a break with a time-worn strategy of belligerence and noncooperation.

Arms sales have been the calling card of diplomats for generations. In the Middle East, however, as nowhere else, arms-sales diplomacy has borne its most bitter fruits. According to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Middle East is the most lucrative market for weapons transfers in the world. It accounts for almost 50% of the weapons sold annually throughout the world.

This extraordinary accumulation of weapons has made the Arab countries and Israel less secure. Fragile economies have become hostage to the requirements of funding tremendous military budgets, distorting and militarizing national economic priorities. Investment and spending are skewed by the desire to achieve ultimate but ever-elusive military security.

Domestic politics too become captive to military dictates. Military regimes in the Arab world are the most obvious examples of this trend, but the political institutions of Israel and Egypt also suffer from the inordinate power of the military.

An enterprising U.S. policy must seek to end this spiral of weapons-driven insecurity by capping the conventional arms race in the region through multilateral agreement, controlling the sale of sensitive nuclear technologies, and minimizing the threat posed by chemical, nuclear, or biological weapons.

There is a precedent for such an agreement in the Middle East: the Tripartite Declaration of May, 1950. The declaration was an integral part of a more comprehensive "big power" guarantee of Middle East frontiers. In fact the Middle East is the only arena in the post-war era where self-restraint on arms transfers was initiated by the Western powers.

A multilateral arms-rationing agreement, including the United States, the European Economic Community (EEC), China, and the Soviet Union would be a central element of an American diplomacy of peace, prosperity, and independence. The value of arms transfers, as the measure of

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friendship and commitment and as the litmus test of superpower patronage, would be reduced. An enforced and verifiable end to the arms race, linked to economic and diplomatic initiatives, would echo positively throughout the region's economic and domestic political arenas.

Unfortunately, concentration on conventional arms alone will not adequately address the military capabilities which exist in the Middle East today. The United States must confront the proliferation of unconventional arms, from nuclear weapons to chemical and biological stocks, as part of its comprehensive strategy toward the region.

Israel's nuclear capabilities are well-known. There are authoritative reports that sophisticated surface-to-surface missiles are already deployed in the Negev Desert and the Golan Heights.

Iraq's nuclear pretensions prompted Israel's destruction of the Osiraq reactor in mid-1981. Today, hardly a week passes without some reference to the Arab world's need to develop a nuclear counter to Israel's existing and ever-improving arsenal. An Office of Technology Assessment report warned that both Egypt and Iraq could have a nuclear weapons capability by the year 2000.

Unlike the static Cold War confrontation in Europe, the nations of the Middle East have demonstrated their readiness to go to war time and time again in pursuit of their national interests. The further addition of nuclear stockpiles and delivery vehicles in such an environment would add a new, chilling dimension to future conflict and make a diplomatic resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict that much more complex.

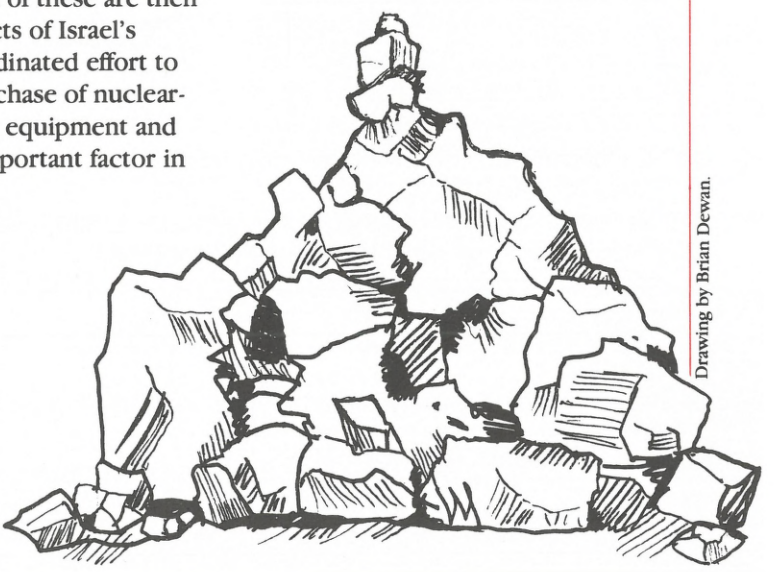
A nuclear-free zone in the Middle East, an idea supported at various times by both Israel and Egypt, is a real possibility within the context of an overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty by nations that have yet to do so, as well as rigorous inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency, will calm Arab fears of Israel's existing nuclear option.

At present, Arab countries see no choice but to imitate Israel's nuclear achievement, and, until they are able to do so, to strive for cheaper chemical or biological substitutes. Both of these are then legitimate subjects of Israel's concern. A coordinated effort to monitor the purchase of nuclear-weapons-related equipment and material is an important factor in stopping the hemorrhaging of nuclear-related material and technology to the region.

A generous program of economic development is an integral feature of the diplomacy of peace and the promotion of independence, freedom, and prosperity. The United States, the EEC, Japan, and the Soviet Union have all invested heavily in the region, as aid donors or as creditors. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have historically played a role in the region's economic development. Large annual subsidies are also granted by the nations of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries to the "confrontation states."

These funds are, however, hostage to the military institutions which dominate the priorities and productive resources of Middle East nations.

The United States, for example, has given more aid to Israel, with its population of 4.3 million, than it allocated to all of Western Europe during the Marshall Plan. Europe had a population of over 100 million during the Marshall Plan. What is there to show for the investment in



Drawing by Brian Dewan.

Israel? Israel's gross national product is stalled, and it is today more than ever an economic ward of the United States. The current Uprising in the West Bank and Gaza demonstrates that American aid has not assured Israel the security it deems so important. The economic health and dependence of Syria and Egypt on their respective super-power patrons are, if anything, worse.

A joint American-Soviet commitment to terminate the addiction of their Middle East allies to military aid and to contain militarism will enable all the countries in the region to begin reasserting control over their economic well-being. An internationally subscribed program, coordinated by a newly chartered Middle East development organization, should be an integral part of this effort.

Freedom, prosperity, and independence are impossible objectives in the Middle East as long as the Arab-Israeli conflict remains unresolved. Today the dispute is focused upon the territories captured by Israel in the June 1967 war and the issue of Palestinian self-determination.

The parameters of a diplomatic settlement have been clear for some time: *peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors, recognition by Arab states of Israel, recognition by Israel of the Palestinian right to self-determination, and Israeli withdrawal from the Occupied Territories.*

The Arab world, which for so long refused to recognize Israel, is today prepared to accept it. The United State, whose support for the status quo has been a cornerstone of American policy since 1967, must now realize, as many Arabs and Israelis already do, that perpetuating the current state of affairs prevents peace, obstructs

The United States, for example, has given more aid to Israel, with its population of 4.3 million, than it allocated to all of Western Europe during the Marshall Plan. Europe had a population of over 100 million during the Marshall Plan. What is there to show for the investment in Israel?

democracy and freedom, and precludes economic and political independence.

The model of American-Soviet collaboration in promoting a peaceful settlement of the conflict according to these principles can be found in their joint chairmanship of the Geneva Peace Conference following the October 1973 War and the Joint Declaration of October, 1977.

In the context of an international conference, the new American administration should support bilateral negotiations along the following lines:

For the Golan Heights—

- complete Israeli withdrawal to the Armistice Line (pre-1967 borders) and the restoration of Syrian sovereignty;
- the creation of demilitarized zones on the model of the separation of forces agreement implemented on the Golan Heights after 1973;
- agreement to end the state of belligerency;
- recognition of the Armistice borders as "secure and recognized borders"; and
- establishment of a timetable and framework for the signing of a Syrian-Israeli treaty of peace.

For the West Bank and Gaza Strip—

- complete Israeli withdrawal to the Armistice Lines except for mutually agreed upon border adjustments;
- creation of a temporary United Nations trusteeship to assume responsibility for internal security, and to supervise the transition of these areas to Palestinian rule;
- agreement to an end of the state of belligerency between Israel and Jordan;

*See **PEACE**, page 39*

WOMEN AND THE INTIFADAH

SUHA SABBAGH

Many have attempted to study, analyze and write about the various aspects of the Palestinian Uprising in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. One aspect that continues to be generally unexplored is the role of Palestinian women in the *Intifadah*.

Today, Palestinian women are out on the street, actively resisting the Israeli occupation. Yes, one of the initial motives driving women out of the home and into public confrontations with the Israeli army was the desire to protect their children. However, women have also questioned their traditional exclusion from the political sphere, and they have done so with the immediate needs of the Palestinian struggle in mind. Their priorities have shifted from protecting traditional values at all costs to risking everything to loosen the grip of occupation. Keeping in mind the influence that women exert within the home, their participation will

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Palestinian women in the midst of a barricade. Judith Gabriel

takes on an added dimension. Women are breaking away from traditional definitions which require them to be segregated from the political sphere. They can now demonstrate in the streets where have long-term repercussions on gender relations within the family.

In developing countries, women have actively participated, to varying degrees, in national struggles. During the Egyptian revolt of 1919 against colonial rule, veiled women demonstrated in the streets of Cairo chanting nationalist slogans. In 1921, Palestinian women demonstrated against Zionist immigration to Palestine. In Algeria, women played a very active role in the struggle against colonial occupation.

Still, the urgency of the national agenda prevents women from directly challenging the central paradigm on which patriarchy rests: the authority that men have over women. For the time being, however, the interrelation between these two notions dispels the commonly held view in the Arab world today that feminism is a concept imported from the West and has little to do with the Arab world. It also stresses the difference between Third World feminism and Western feminism, which for historical reasons is more confrontational.

In his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon, writing for the Algerian revolution, proposed that the act of violence directed against the occupying power should be measured not by the degree of damage inflicted upon the source of oppression but by the degree to which this act brings back a sense of power and dignity to the victim of oppression. For Fanon, the act of resisting—in the case of the *Intifadah*, the act of throwing a stone at the occupiers—initiates and defines a process of psychological liberation. The person who directs the sling at the source of

Palestinian women demonstrating in Beit Sahour on the West Bank. Roots Collection

occupation is, in a way, redefining her/himself. A new human being emerges in the act of establishing an adversary relationship between the occupiers and the occupied. In it, the occupied refuse the status of nonentity. More than any other notion, Fanon's concept of violence explains the dynamics, the benefits, and the motives behind the throwing of stones.

Similarly, for women in the Occupied Territories, participating in the *Intifadah*—by breaking boulders and cinder block into smaller stones or by chasing soldiers away from their children—previously their very presence was deemed inappropriate. In the act of throwing a stone, or protecting one's children from the blows of soldiers, a new Palestinian woman is emerging, with greater defiance, increased self-esteem, and a newly acquired political consciousness.

Palestinian women's identity was not transformed overnight. Just like the *Intifadah* itself, it was a process that took place over two decades during which women were active—more so than men, whose role as breadwinners consumed most of the work day—in demonstrating against oppressive measures, meeting community needs through local women's groups, and in writing novels, poems, and short stories that now constitute the bulk of a discourse in social history. The *Intifadah* is, of course, a process of restructuring the whole society and all its institutions.

But the *Intifadah* is also primarily responsible for institutionalizing the work which Palestinian women began in 1967. In a sense, as women are redefining themselves in the Uprising, they are redefining Palestinian society. One could say that Palestinian society has been somewhat feminized.

Today, many activities which were first considered to be women's work are now considered to be *Al-Amal Al-Watani* or "nationalist work." The idea of self-sufficiency was pioneered by women as they catered to the needs of the community through women's unions. Now, self-sufficiency has become the concern of all strata of society. The care now extended to one's neighbors in the Occupied Territories is but an extension of

the nurturing role of women.

For the West Bank and Gaza communities to survive the hardships imposed upon them, they have had to draw on the support of every member, bridging the gap between gender relations. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that women are now receiving greater recognition for their contribution than at any previous time.

The special problems facing women under occupation are nowhere better illustrated than in the writing of a Palestinian woman, Sahar Khalifeh, in her novel, *Abad El Shams*. Published in 1980, the book describes the trials and tribulations of a woman who, due to the death of her husband, finds herself in the position of breadwinner in the midst of a community that does not accept a woman in such a role.

The lead character, Sadia, displays an incredible ability to earn a living, which contrasts markedly with her inability to fight the inculcation of patriarchal values that condemn her behavior. She is anguished by her unescorted trips to the big city; by the traditionally unacceptable visits of men, even if work related; and so on. She joins her neighbor women in doubting the correctness of such behavior.

In the book's final scene, which prophetically predicts the *Intifadah*, the author proposes that the solution to the special problems faced by women can only be achieved through the national agenda. Sadia first seeks an individual solution to her problem by purchasing land on which to build a house away from her home: the Old City of Jerusalem. But as soon as she moves to her new haven, the Israeli occupation authorities confiscate her land to build a new settlement. They demolish her newly built home.

Angry and on the verge of madness, she finally joins her children and the crowds in demonstrating against the occupation.

Judith Gabriel

Rasmiyeh Odeh, a political activist and long-time prisoner, was deported in 1977.

Today, Sadia would be judged by the values of the *Intifadah*, rather than traditional values. The number of households headed by women, due to the incarceration, death, or exile of their husbands, is forever on the increase, and the community is totally supportive and understanding. Furthermore, the traditional distinctions between men's and women's roles have also undergone a reshuffling process. And since no firearms are used in this mass Uprising, women are freer to participate in all facets of the struggle.

Young women in particular have proved to be effective at passing messages and informing people about the directives of the organizing committees. Although it is hard to say the percentage of the women on the organizing committees, eyewitness reports indicate that there are young women on nearly every committee. The general attitude of the community toward young women has changed drastically. Whereas in the past the free mobility of an unescorted female during certain hours was considered inappropriate, it is now generally assumed that these women are involved in "national work," and that provides a form of protection against traditional values. Women have gained a greater degree of freedom and trust.

At the present time, there are roughly 38 women's groups registered on the West Bank alone. Most are charitable organizations that seek to provide services and food to families in need. Others provide training to women who want to learn skills to earn a living.

In her autobiographical work, *My Home My Prison*, published in 1979, Raymonda Tawil, then a correspondent for various newspapers, provides a very accurate and rare glimpse into the way in which women began to organize right after the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The first demonstrations were organized by women after homes were blown up by order of the military government. Other demonstrations were held, with varying degrees of success,

*See **Women**, page 39*

AL-INTIFADAH'S BITTER FRUIT

The Strengthening of the Israeli Right

KATE CASA

The *Intifadah* was not timed to peak with the Israeli elections, and yet its ground swell has unleashed some deep-seated Israeli emotions. Polls show that Israel's visceral reaction promises to yank the government even more sharply to the right. The party that has gained the most from the *Intifadah* is the Likud, and, at its helm, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is buoyed toward victory with the continued promise of no compromise.

Such intransigence less than a year ago drew healthy skepticism from a broad sector of Israeli society. Today, under siege from within and without, many Israelis have retreated to a classic defense mechanism—they refuse to accept reality. Whether Shamir's bitter mistrust and denial of the PLO as a negotiating partner will hold water after November remains to be seen. But in the meantime, it serves the prime minister to continue to rail against Palestinian "terrorists," to dehumanize the Palestinian people, and to shoot holes in any of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's attempts at concessions. In these days, Shamir's rhetoric is what his public wants to hear.

Surveys throughout the summer and into the fall have shown a dramatic increase among the ranks of the Israeli right wing, but perhaps none have been as startling as the poll conducted in June by the Continuing Survey of the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research and the Communications Institute of Hebrew University. The June poll shows that almost half of all Jewish Israeli adults favored the "transfer" of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories as a way to retain the Jewish and "democratic" nature of their society.

The transfer idea, long whispered about in Israeli circles, was considered to be a viable solution to the Palestine problem exclusively by the radical Kach-centered voting bloc. Until the *Intifadah* began, open consideration of it was considered taboo. In the June poll, two-thirds of the respondents favored the transfer option and said it intended to vote Likud. The remaining third said it backed Labor. This indicates a distinct radicalization of public thought.

When compared with the results of a poll taken a year earlier, a public opinion survey revealed that there is a distinct perception that Israel's general security situation is worsening. This year, 60% of the respondents ranked the government's handling of state security as "poor"; and only 18% thought it was "very good." Last year, 27% thought that it was "very good." About 20% of the respondents this year said they feel they "cannot cope" with the situation, up from 12% a year ago.

Another indication that the *Intifadah* has prompted a swing to the right is that over 50% of the poll's respondents said they had recently changed their minds about three issues: Israel's ability to cope with the current situation "effectively and morally," the viability of the peace process, and their evaluation of the media. Analysts point out that the overall pattern appears to indicate that it is the right-wing voters that have changed their thinking. They predict that the change is likely to

Kate Casa is a correspondent for The Return *in Jerusalem.*

strengthen rather than reverse existing attitudes and that it will serve to bind the right while it divides the left.

THE PARTIES

The aftershocks of King Hussein's withdrawal of claims to the West Bank promise to destabilize at least several of the left's foreign game plans for some time to come, but the epicenter of the king's move hit nowhere as strongly as it did in the Israeli Labor party. And depending on whom you talk to, it will either make or break the Labor ticket.

Labor doves point out that Hussein's disengagement was a merciful step that caused Shimon Peres to face reality. Peres had to admit that his "Jordanian option" no longer existed. These doves argue that Labor got a shot in the arm from Hussein's withdrawal that has forced it to come to terms with the Palestinians themselves. On the other hand, Labor hawks, who support the Jordanian option in lieu of Palestinian representation, came away with egg on their faces. For the hawks, the Labor party has nothing left to offer.

The party's attempts to gracefully survive the blow have caused it to snap to attention at the eleventh hour, when changing tack gives any politician nightmares. But Peres' old Jordanian option was clearly not making headway, and unless he succumbs to the last-ditch American invitation to make an Egyptian substitution for Hussein, it can at least be said that Labor went into November, 1988 with its eyes open.

Many Israelis, therefore, are finding Likud and the right to be much more attractive. After King Hussein's withdrawal, perhaps most discomforting to both left- and right-wing Israelis is PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's proximity to negotiations. According to one political columnist, Michel Yudelman, Hussein's withdrawal has made Israel seem, to many, to be "on a runaway truck hurling down the road to talks with the PLO, yet its leaders refuse to see or admit it." Such an out-of-control feeling may well prompt voters to slam on the Likud brakes, but whether even those hold has as much to do with what goes on outside the party as within.

Between 40% and 55% of Jewish Israeli teenagers adhere to antidemocratic positions and strongly support the Israeli government's use of the Iron Fist policy to quell the Intifadah *in the Occupied Territories.*

Though Likud may be rhetorically in control of its own platform, it is also no longer completely in the driver's seat. If Arafat succumbs to international pressure and recognizes Israel, the intransigent Shamir might be compelled to take another look at his "Camp David-style autonomy" solution, and he might even find himself at the negotiating table with Arafat.

For both Labor and Likud, facing the reality of the Palestine problem is not characteristic of Israeli election campaigns, and anti-PLO rhetoric has become the hallmark of both right and left.

While both sides concede that talks must take place (not even Shamir goes so far anymore as to back the status quo), both fantasize about the materialization of an innocuous, non-PLO Palestinian partner that will somehow carry the mandate of the Palestinian people. The Labor party has been forced to take a shrewder look at negotiations with the PLO, but even so, Peres quickly adds that he has no confidence that the PLO will meet his prerequisites.

BEYOND THE ELECTIONS

The political leanings of the Jewish Israeli youth, colored by a prevalent anti-Palestinian bias, will affect not only this year's elections but also Israeli elections for years to come. Today, 18% of Israel's voters are of the post-1967 generation, but

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that margin is expected to grow to a full third of all Israeli voters within the next decade.

Even after taking into consideration the youthful tendency toward extremism, statistics from Israeli high schools are disturbing. These indicate that between 40% and 55% of Jewish Israeli teenagers adhere to antidemocratic positions and strongly support the Israeli government's use of the Iron Fist policy to quell the *Intifadah* in the Occupied Territories. A full 35%—one-third of Jewish Israeli high school students—support the harsh anti-Palestinian policies of the Jewish underground.

After high school, these youths will serve in the Israeli military, and, as Professor Arik Karmon of Tel Aviv University points out, military service does not alter these views but, rather, it tends to reinforce them.

One reason for the students' radical positions is believed to be the lack of realistic political education within Israeli schools. The trend in education remains much the same as when it was set forth by David Ben-Gurion: schools should try to unite Jews rather than delineate their differences. However, in the process, Israeli school children are trained to think in an "us versus them" mentality. Such an attitude is known to contribute to the dehumanization of "them"; and, unfortunately, it seems more evident in these days of the *Intifadah*.

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According to Karmon:

> At the root of the issue is the confusion felt by students over the inability to reconcile two very different systems of government within the country . . . . The entire post-1967 generation grew up hearing a double message—democracy on one side of the Green Line, martial law on the other side. But in practice there is no line that separates the two entities, and so to make sense of the situation, youth have to learn to differentiate between different levels of human beings.

Dr. Abdul Latif Aqel, a sociologist at Al-Najah University, once pointed out to me that it is the Israelis' extraordinary ability to dehumanize the Palestinians that allows them to maintain the Iron Fist occupation. No one in good conscience, he reasoned, could otherwise carry out such atrocities upon his fellow human beings.

Instead, many Israelis learn to think of "Palestinian" as simply an adjective for "problem." To the Israelis, a people with a history of uninterrupted war, the *Intifadah* becomes yet another conflict—something to beat—and on the campaign trail, where the power of rhetoric lies in the fantasy it fuels, words blur the reality of the *Intifadah* just as easily as that. If there is a bitter irony in the *Intifadah*, it lies in its probable effect on the Israeli elections. Born of the frustration of more than 20 years of repression, the Palestinian Uprising burst forth last December 9 to shake off the Israeli occupation. Yet, it appears that its most immediate political fruit may be the further entrenchment of the Israeli right-wing camp, the sector of Israeli society most diametrically opposed to a Palestinian state. ■

ISRAEL STRENGTHENS ITS TIES TO THE EASTERN BLOC

JANE HUNTER

At the very time that Israel's traditional support in Western Europe is sagging, all over Eastern Europe, it seems, doors are opening for Israel.

In May, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres was cordially received by Hungary's top leaders. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir was similarly honored in September. At the United Nations in June, Shamir had a long meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. In October, former-Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban visited Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. Peres has also met with Shevardnadze, and there have been increasingly frequent meetings, mostly in European capitals, of lower-level Soviet and Israeli officials. In July, during the seventh month of the *Intifadah*, the Soviet Union allowed an Israeli consular delegation to visit Moscow.

Although the timing of these moves suggests that Warsaw Pact nations are oblivious to the harsh methods Israel is using to fight the *Intifadah*, that is really not the case. Unlike Western Europe, which lavished political and economic support on Israel, the Eastern Bloc has little to withhold or withdraw. After the 1967 war, all but Rumania broke relations with Israel.

The Soviet Union and its East European allies are simply progressing along paths that were charted long before the Palestinians under occupation initiated the *Intifadah*. Those paths lead the Eastern Bloc to increased trade and cooperation with the West, and Israel is one of the milestones along the way.

The Soviet Union's evolving relationship with Israel is guided by Moscow's preoccupation with détente with Washington, and its eagerness to settle regional crises around the world. Because it badly needs the increased trade and access to Western technology it expects these processes to yield, Moscow has been very forthcoming: it has dropped its demands that the United States abandon "Star Wars," folded its tent in Afghanistan, and in the Middle East, has pointedly refrained from supplying Syria with sophisticated SS-23 surface-to-surface missiles.

The Soviet Union is particularly interested in playing a prominent role in a Middle East peace settlement, an interest that is understandable if only because of the proximity of the region to its own borders.

Moreover, after years of having been denied a meaningful role in the Middle East by the United States, Israel, and Egypt, the Soviet Union is now working hard to raise its prestige in the area. Since Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary of the Communist Party, with increasing success, Moscow has pursued diplomatic ties with conservative Arab states, and it has repaired its relations with Egypt.

It is in this context that Gorbachev has said that breaking ties with Israel in 1967 was a mistake, it is in this context that he has urged Syria, the Soviet Union's principal ally in the region, to be more flexible, and it is in this context that he has encouraged the PLO's moves toward recognition of Israel. The meeting with Peres was

Jane Hunter is editor of the monthly publication Israeli Foreign Affairs.

to encourage his crusade for an international conference. The meeting with Shamir (during which Shevardnadze reportedly promised to guarantee more conservatively drawn Israeli borders) was to keep open lines of communication in case Shamir's Likud bloc wins the upcoming Israeli elections.

The Eastern Bloc's current interest in Israel is linked to its belief that its privileged standing with the U.S. Congress will help it achieve advantageous trade agreements with Washington. These Eastern Bloc countries hope that the new trade agreements with the United States will help solve their serious economic problems.

Poland's contacts with Israel began in late 1985, when Warsaw was in serious debt and Washington cut it off from new international credit because of its treatment of the Solidarity trade union. In 1986, Poland and Israel agreed to establish interest sections (low-level diplomatic missions) in each other's capitals. Since then trade has increased, as have political contacts and cultural exchanges. In early October, Poland and Israel announced that they would upgrade their relations. Their respective interest sections are being given independent status.

Hungary followed, agreeing in March to exchange interest sections with Israel, and in May the two countries signed an agreement linking their national airlines. According to the Israeli prime minister's spokesperson, during his visit to Budapest, Shamir offered to use Israeli influence to "mobilize international capital" for Hungary. Shortly before Shamir left for Hungary, Peres told a visiting Hungarian official that Israel would set up a joint U.S.-Israeli firm to promote investment in Hungary.

On September 14, Shamir arrived in Budapest for an "unofficial" visit.

The Soviet Union's evolving relationship with Israel is guided by Moscow's preoccupation with détente with Washington, and its eagerness to settle regional crises around the world.

He met with Hungarian Prime Minister Karoly Grosz and Foreign Minister Peter Darkonyi. He reportedly tried to convince them to resume Budapest's diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv and strengthen economic and commercial ties. Finally, on October 14, it was announced that the president of El Al Israeli airlines and Hungarian officials had negotiated the start of airline service between Israel and Hungary.

On September 23 in Czechoslovakia, Vice-Premier Mateg Lucana told the Israeli newspaper *Maariv* that Czechoslovakian-Israeli relations were improving and that "we recognize Israel as we have done before." But Lucana added that the resumption of diplomatic ties with Israel is contingent on creating suitable conditions. Suitable conditions stem from the settlement of regional and international conflicts, including the Middle East.

Less than a week later, Peres met with Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister Garomir Gohanef in New York. The Czechoslovakian foreign minister promised his Israeli counterpart that the Czechoslovakian government would soon start official talks with Tel Aviv regarding the full resumption of diplomatic ties within the coming year. In addition, it was reported that Czechoslovakia would soon open an interest section in Tel Aviv, independent of the Austrian embassy which looks after its interests.

On October 3, the Israeli newspaper, *Hadashot*, reported that Czechoslovakian consular and economic delegations would visit Israel soon. Foreign Minister Garomir Gohanef said that Prague will establish a diplomatic representative office in Tel Aviv, similar to those of Poland and Hungary.

Maariv reported that Israeli Minister of Trade and Industry Ariel Sharon arrived in Bulgaria on October 5. Sharon met with high-ranking Bulgarian officials, and there are reports that Bulgaria will soon open a trade representative office in Tel Aviv. Like other Eastern Bloc countries, Bulgaria wants to increase trade with Israel. In doing so, Sofia hopes to acquire Israeli technology, and it hopes to "infiltrate West European and U.S. markets."

Even East Germany is showing some interest in improved ties with Washington via Israel. Recently, Berlin said it would pay reparations to Jewish victims of the Nazi Holocaust, something which West Germany has done for decades. According to a recent article in *The Washington Post*, East Germany is expected to pay over $100 million in compensation. Most of that money is expected to go to nursing homes and social welfare agencies that care for Jewish survivors of the Nazi Holocaust.

However, to reach this agreement, East German officials did not negotiate with Israeli

officials. Instead, they negotiated with officials from an organization set up by the World Jewish Congress, the New York-based Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany.

In *The Washington Post* article, Edgar Bronfman, president of World Jewish Congress, was cited as saying that East Germany was considering establishing "some form of ties" with Israel. The article also asserts that in recent years, East Germany has been "actively seeking" improved relations with its tiny community of 350 practicing Jews. The reason—to obtain most-favored-nation trading status with the United States.

The Soviets also want to improve trade with Israel and have recently established joint chambers of commerce. But for Moscow, trade is secondary to diplomacy. The two sides met in Helsinki in 1986 to discuss the possibility of exchanging consular delegations, but the meeting quickly broke up when Israel raised issues that were not on the agenda. A year later, after Israel dropped its demands for reciprocity, the Soviet Union sent a consular team to Israel; and in July of this year an Israeli team was permitted to go to the Soviet Union. But it was limited to working out of the Dutch Embassy, which handles Israeli affairs in the Soviet Union.

On October 3, the Israeli newspaper *Hadashot* quoted Peres as saying that the Soviet Union would probably resume full diplomatic relations with Israel within a period of six months to one year. The paper also reported that Israel would be included on Sheverdnadze's agenda for an upcoming visit to the Middle East.

In addition, *Haaretz*, another Israeli daily, reported on October 4 that the Soviets have extended the residence visas of the Israeli consular mission in Moscow.

Eastern Europe. Drawing by Brian Dewan

Working out of the Dutch embassy, the consular delegation is the first of its kind in 21 years. The delegation was reported optimistic about the nearing of normalized relations.

Although there may be a glacial pace and frosty ambience to this process, the prospect that the Soviet Union might renew relations with Israel is very worrisome to Moscow's traditional friends in the Middle East. To reassure them, the Soviet Union has promised that it will not resume formal ties until Israel itself begins serious moves toward peace.

Last spring, in response to articles in Arab publications charging that the Soviet Union, in league with the United States, was working to benefit Israel at the expense of the Palestinians, an article in the *Novosti* Soviet press service asserted that Soviet overtures to Israel did not signify a slackening of support for the Palestinians.

The Soviet Union has been spared dealing with another issue that initially caused great anxiety among Palestinians and their supporters: the emigration of Jews to Israel, where they might be settled in the Occupied Territories. Although free emigration was one of Washington's key demands for improved American-Soviet relations, and although the Soviets responded with greatly eased restrictions on emigration, very few of the large numbers of Jews leaving the Soviet Union have gone to Israel. In July 92% of them went elsewhere, and in August 97% did not go to Israel.

Still, the Soviet Union's Middle East balancing act has been made more difficult by Israeli officials, who have repeatedly claimed that

Soviet officials have told them that Moscow no longer insisted on PLO participation in any Middle East peace process.

Israel has tried to put a positive spin on its contacts with the Eastern Bloc. Shamir's visit to Hungary was depicted as the final step before the resumption of full diplomatic ties with Budapest. However, the Hungarians called the visit "private" and were noncommittal about the diplomatic ties.

When the Israeli consular delegation went to Moscow, the Israeli press carried reports portraying its courtesy calls on foreign ministry officials as high-level political contacts with the Soviet foreign ministry. Moscow objected and the leader of the delegation was ordered to lower his profile.

In early September, a series of rebuffs made it apparent that Israel had carried things too far. Poland canceled a scheduled visit by Foreign Minister Peres, reportedly to lower the profile of its relations with Israel. A planned Peres visit to Czechoslovakia was also canceled.

Although Israeli radio claimed that Peres called off the visit because of scheduling difficulties, it is unlikely that Peres would have missed an opportunity to score such a diplomatic breakthrough just before the Israeli elections. Of all the Eastern Bloc nations, Czechoslovakia has been the most hostile to Israel. Peres was forced to content himself with celebrating the first Israeli meeting in 20 years with a Czechoslovakian minister in the relative obscurity of the opening of the United Nations General Assembly.

Israeli radio reported that Shamir's visit to Hungary was "a kind of compensation for the earlier visit of Shimon Peres" so that Hungary would not appear to be playing favorites in the Israeli election. The radio also admitted that Soviet officials have told their Israeli counterparts that "the PLO must fill the vacuum left by Jordan" when King Hussein renounced any interest in the West Bank, and that Moscow continues to hold the position that any improvement in diplomatic relations depends on progress in the peace process.

The Israeli government would never have broadcast these reports unless it was under pressure to do so, an indication that Moscow retains the upper hand.

Nonetheless, there remains a generalized fear that, in its current phase of working to cool world trouble spots, and as Shevardnadze put it, the de-emphasis of ideology and class struggle in its foreign policy, the Soviet Union is set to abandon its international commitments. As Washington and Moscow cut deals on regional issues, the support of the Soviet Union for Nicaragua, Angola, the African National Congress, and the South West Africa People's Organization have all been called into question.

However, much as the PLO and Syria might worry about being abandoned by Moscow in a Middle East settlement, Israel has even more cause to worry. It has been Israel's abiding nightmare that the United States and the Soviet Union will someday join forces and dictate a peace settlement Israel will have no choice but to swallow. ■

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JEWISH AMERICANS AND THE UPRISING

JOHN EGAN

It used to be that Jewish Americans stood solidly behind the Jewish state. They supported, without any public dissent, the actions of Israel. Any criticisms or misgivings were aired privately, if at all. However, Israel's invasion of Lebanon, the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal, and the Iran-Contra affair have eroded the unanimity of American Jewish opinion on a number of crucial issues relating to Israel. These issues include whether public criticism of Israel is justified, the ultimate resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and whether the Israeli government should negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Jewish Americans overwhelmingly continue to support the existence of Israel and fear for its security. There is a strong emotional bond between Jewish Americans and Israel, and it is this bond which leads some Jewish Americans to publicly criticize recent Israeli actions, fearing that they will undermine the long-term security of the Jewish state.

At first, most mainstream Jewish groups in the United States supported Israel's invasion of Lebanon, papering over sharp private disagreements with a show of public support. However, as the war dragged on, private misgivings turned into public criticism. The massacre of Palestinians at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon by Lebanese Phalangist militiamen aided by Israeli soldiers shocked Jewish Americans. It contributed significantly to their willingness to publicly criticize Israeli actions.

No mainstream American Jewish group publicly supported Jonathan Pollard when he was arrested for selling top-secret U.S. intelligence information to Israel in 1986. More importantly, Jewish-American groups have blasted Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin's orders to brutalize Palestinian demonstrators in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

Three of the largest Jewish-American groups have recently criticized the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the chief pro-Israel lobby, for being out of step with "the consensus of the organized American Jewish community" on key Middle East issues, according to an article published in *The New York Times* on October 18. The American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the American Jewish Committee rebuked AIPAC's attempt to kill a Reagan administration proposal to sell arms to Kuwait as well as AIPAC's efforts to close the PLO Observer Mission to the United Nations in New York. According to Robert Pear of *The New York Times*, the rebuke "is politically significant because it suggests that American Jewish opinion is more diverse and, on some issues, less hard-line than the picture presented by AIPAC."

The article confirms an exhaustive *Los Angeles Times* poll completed earlier this year. The poll showed that the views of Jewish Americans are anything but monolithic or easily classified. According to *Los Angeles Times* Reporter Robert Scheer,

John Egan, a journalist based in Washington, D.C., was managing editor of The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs *in 1986-87.*

Said Elatab

A demonstration in New York in which both Arab Americans and Jewish Americans participated.

contradiction and complexity now shape the attitudes of Jewish Americans when it comes to Israel.

This sense of contradiction is aptly demonstrated by another incident involving AIPAC. In the early months of the *Intifadah*, AIPAC officials admitted that mail in some congressional offices was running ten to one against Israel's handling of the Palestinian Uprising. Congressmen, who generally pay close attention to constituent mail, could justify questioning or even criticizing Israeli tactics in the Occupied Territories. This could snowball, and lead some legislator or group of legislators to suggest that the U.S.-Israeli "special relationship" be reexamined.

One AIPAC-watcher in Washington, D.C. notes that at first, AIPAC was reeling under the pressure it felt due to the media attention to Israel's measures to quell the Uprising. The pro-Israel lobby is strong, but it has not been powerful enough to counter the print and electronic media's daily depiction of Israeli soldiers harassing and brutalizing Palestinian civilians. Defending Israel's initial response to the Uprising was risky if not impossible, they agreed. Therefore, AIPAC officials and leaders of some mainstream American Jewish groups urged Secretary of State George Shultz to become personally involved in a renewed search for a Middle East peace.

Initially, AIPAC cheered Shultz's decision this past spring to give diplomacy in the Middle East another try. However, the secretary of state's plan featured an international peace conference and a land-for-peace swap between Israel and its Arab neighbors, which quickly became a heated partisan issue in Israel. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir adamantly opposed such a conference while Foreign Minister Shimon Peres enthusiastically endorsed it.

Due to political divisions in Israel and AIPAC's own misgivings about an international peace conference, AIPAC soon reversed itself. AIPAC had originally pressured Shultz to become personally involved in the quest for a Middle East peace. It cheered his announced initiative. However, AIPAC ended up blasting the Shultz peace proposal.

AIPAC's current strategy is to try to ignore the eleven-month-old *Intifadah* because it poses a series of no-win situations for Israel's supporters in America. Instead, the pro-Israel group has tended to focus on strategic cooperation between

the United States and Israel. If forced to discuss the Middle East conflict, AIPAC officials try to cast the conflict as being between the Arab states and Israel, not as between Israel and the Palestinians. If successful in casting the conflict this way, Israel remains the Jewish David surrounded by the Arab Goliath. However, if the conflict is between Israel and the Palestinians, Israel becomes the Goliath and the Palestinians become David.

AIPAC's contradictory initial response to the *Intifadah* and its subsequent attempts to deny it altogether or shift the context within which it should be viewed, reflect the response of a significant segment of Jewish Americans polled last spring. Robert Scheer of the *Los Angeles Times*, the company that administered the poll, found "an active, committed Jewish community increasingly polarized and concerned about the direction of events involving Israel."

For example, while two-thirds of the 1,018 Jews surveyed favor resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through territorial accommodation instead of expulsion of the Palestinians, 43% of these same Jews said that "trading land for peace" was not the way to reach this accommodation. Instead, they preferred "local autonomy" as the political solution. Only 31% thought that trading land for peace is a good idea.

In recent years, Israel's image has clearly suffered in the United States, and Jewish Americans are reluctant to confront the reasons for this decline. Fifty-two percent of the Jews surveyed in the *Los Angeles Times* poll said poor "public relations" are the cause of Israel's declining image. Only 28% blame Israel's recent actions, including the invasion of Lebanon, the Jonathan Pollard spy scandal, and Israel's sale of arms to Iran. Fourteen percent of the Jews asked blamed both public relations and Israeli actions.

AIPAC's current strategy is to try to ignore the eleven-month-old Intifadah *because it poses a series of no-win situations for Israel's supporters in America.*

In contrast, 47% of the 1,110 non-Jews surveyed felt unacceptable Israeli actions were the reason for the decline in Israel's image in the United States. Another 8% said a combination of poor public relations and Israeli actions have led to Israel's declining image here.

Media coverage of the Uprising has sharply split Jews and non-Jews, the poll found. Fifty-six percent of the Jews surveyed said the media has offered a distorted view of the *Intifadah*, which has made the Palestinians look better than they are. However, only 11% of non-Jews queried felt this way.

Four out of five Jews polled said being Jewish was very important in their lives, but 50% of those Jews said "a commitment to social equality" was the most important component of their Jewishness. Seventeen percent said religious observance is the most important part of their Jewish identity, and another 17% said support for Israel is the most important part of their Jewish identity.

Forty-one percent of Jewish Americans found that "there was an element of racism in the attitude of Israelis toward Arabs." Forty-seven percent thought that that is not true. However, 82% of Jewish Americans rejected the comparison between Israeli treatment of Palestinians and the South African government's treatment of blacks. Only 10% of Jewish Americans agreed with that statement.

The polling data show an American Jewish community which is reluctant to acknowledge the actual reasons for a decline in Israel's image here. Instead of understanding that recent Israeli actions, including the repression of the *Intifadah*, are the cause for Israel's declining image in the United States, Jewish Americans have tended to blame poor public relations and a hostile press.

A majority of Jewish Americans take their commitment to social equality very seriously, and a large percentage feel Israeli views of Arabs are shaped to some degree by racism. However, while Jewish Americans rejected solving the conflict by a population transfer, they also rejected the concept of a "land-for-peace" swap. A majority of Jewish Americans seem to know what they don't want in the way of a political solution, but there is not yet wide agreement on the best way to resolve the conflict. Entrenched attitudes about social equality have not yet translated into support for policies designed to achieve that equality—such as the creation of a Palestinian state.

There was some good news for peace activists, however. The *Los Angeles Times* found that 29% of Jews and 52% of non-Jews supported U.S. negotiations with the PLO. These numbers are significant improvements over previous polls.

According to Mary Appelman, Chairperson of the America-Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace (AICIPP), based in Downers Grove,

Illinois, the *Intifadah* has "made a tremendous difference" in the way Jewish Americans look at the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

> In 1982, [Jewish Americans] said "Israel had to invade Lebanon to get rid of the terrible enemy outside our borders." But today it's no longer the terrible enemy outside Israel's borders—it's kids throwing stones [in the Occupied Territories].
>
> The Palestinians have brought about the change. They have and will continue to make it impossible for Israel to continue the occupation. The Uprising itself has begun to make American Jews see that the occupation is a losing proposition for Israel.

AICIPP's membership has grown over the last year, as have two other small left-wing Jewish groups. New Jewish Agenda (NJA), based in New York, has seen its membership increase approximately 20 percent over the last year. And membership in the Jewish Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Peace (JCIPP), based in Washington, D.C., has doubled.

King Hussein's declaration this July that the PLO is responsible for the future of the Occupied Territories has conclusively removed the Jordanian monarch from center stage. Hussein dashed the hopes of many Jewish Americans that Israel could cut a deal with Hussein over the Occupied Territories. There is no longer a "Jordanian option."

Starting in 1982, the Israeli government has harassed and imprisoned Israeli Jews who hold political views at variance with the government's. A number of Jewish Israelis who refused to serve in the invasion of Lebanon or the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, or who have advocated negotiating with the PLO and relinquishing at least the bulk of the occupied West Bank and Gaza, have lost their jobs or have been imprisoned. This retaliation against Israeli Jews demonstrates the corrosive effect the occupation has had on Israeli society; and Jewish Americans are beginning to understand this, comments Ellen Siegel, a founding member of JCIPP.

"The [Israeli] authorities are coming down on Israeli Jews. Very rarely have they harassed Israeli Jews, much less imprisoned them," for their political views or advocacy, she comments. The Israeli government's campaign to "silence and harass the Israeli left is very serious."

These and other events have convinced an increasing number of Jewish Americans that the occupation has become a moral drain on Israeli Jewish society and that there are only two practical policy choices before Israel: either continue the occupation, which carries potentially disastrous consequences for the Jewish state, or negotiate with the authentic representative of the Palestinian people—the PLO. The "Jordanian option," long cherished by Israelis and, until recently, Jewish Americans, has vanished, they point out. Had it not vanished, it would have been unworkable.

Some mainstream American Jewish groups—including the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the American Jewish Congress—have not only criticized AIPAC, but they have broken with long-standing tradition and criticized Israel itself for its policies toward peace and the Palestinians.

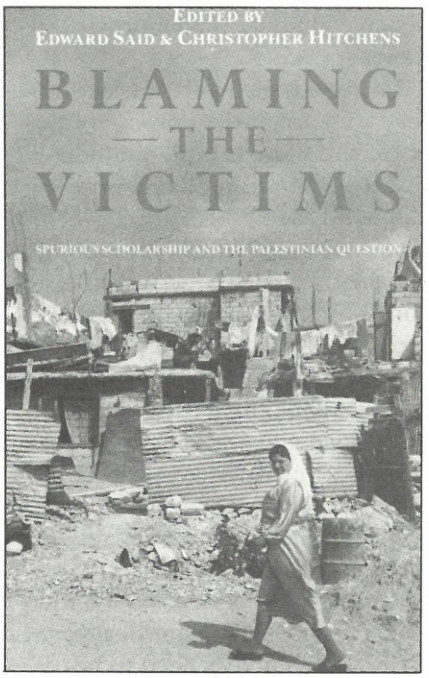
This is an optimistic sign, Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, former president of the American Jewish Congress, said in an interview. Jewish Americans oppose by a 2-to-1 margin the hard-line policies of Likud, but they don't particularly like the PLO. "The most pressing issue confronting Israeli Jews and Palestinians—and by extension their supporters in America—is the legitimacy of the other," Hertzberg wrote in the October 13, 1988 issue of *The New York Times Review of Books.*

> Israelis have a bad conscience about Palestinians. They have never forgotten the Arab attack [of 1948] but they have repressed their share in making the defeat of the Arab armies in 1948 into a rout of civilians, and they want to believe that their own right to Israel is morally and politically unquestionable. Therefore, they hear all too acutely whenever it is said among Palestinians that their ultimate dream is to return not only to Ramallah and Nablus but to Haifa and Jaffa. American Jews have a long-standing score [to settle] with the PLO. I think the most hopeful sign is that the American Jewish opinion has moved measurably closer to a two-state solution [over the last few years]. If Israel ever moved toward a two-state solution, [Jewish Americans] would support it.

Jewish-American attitudes toward the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are changing. The rush of events since 1982 have forced Jewish Americans to reexamine deeply held views about Israel, the Palestinians, and the conflict which binds the two people together. A fundamental reorientation of beliefs—if that is what we are seeing—does not take place overnight. While six and a half years may constitute an eternity for some, those who are concerned for the future of both Palestinians and Israelis should welcome the change and work to continue it. ■

THE ZIONIST INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS

PETER GUBSER



Edward Said & Christopher Hitchens (editors) *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestine Question.* London & New York: Verso, 1988. 196 pages, $13.95.

The Arabs generally, and the Palestinians specifically, have not enjoyed good press in the United States. Edward Said and company set out to explain and analyze this phenomenon in their latest book, *Blaming the Victims.* They also address some especially egregious examples of bad scholarship and reporting. This very helpful, well-written, thoughtful collection of essays brings together many of the ideas and writings of noted scholars on Palestine and helps to set right, or perhaps balance, the literature on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Major publications are actually paying attention: the book was favorably reviewed in *The Washington Post Sunday Book World.*

The highlights of the volume are Said's introduction, Said and Norman Finkelstein's review of Joan Peters' *Time Immemorial*, and the concluding chapter which assembles very useful data on the Palestinian community.

In his usual incisive, and appropriately compassionate, manner, Said describes how Zionists in Israel, the United States, and, indeed, throughout much of the world, essentially took control of the all-important arena of "ideas, representations, rhetoric, and images." In other words, not only did they win militarily on the ground, but they also won politically in the international arena of opinion and support. To do this, Said contends, they have reversed truth. Facts have been made to stand on their heads; untruths have been accepted as history.

A recent and particularly harsh example of this phenomenon is Joan Peters' book *From Time Immemorial.* Albert Hourani appropriately called this "a ludicrous and worthless book." However, noted American scholars, authors, and statesmen praised it. Barbara Tuchman, Saul Bellow, Arthur Goldberg, and Daniel Pipes are among the names of those extolling the book. If one looks

Peter Gubser, who holds a Ph.D. in political science and social anthropology, is the author of several books on the Middle East. Currently, he is president of American Near East Refugee Aid.

Americans Speaking Out

The *Intifadah* is showing the world who the victims really are.

Excellent reports by two mainstream non-Semitic organizations, Physicians for Human Rights and Amnesty International, were compiled and published about the treatment of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In addition a group of 14 American-based charitable and development organizations that work with Palestinians in the Occupied Territories recently published a statement (*Christian Science Monitor*, July 21, 1988) which reads as follows:

> We are deeply concerned about the deterioration of conditions affecting Palestinians, particularly since the beginning of the popular uprising in December 1987. Lives today are marred by increasingly aggressive Israeli military practices against the civilian population. These brutalize and demean both Palestinians who face such treatment and Israeli soldiers who feel compelled to act in this way. Whatever the provocation, such practices are not acceptable. They are inconsistent with universally recognized norms of behavior and violate principles of international law pertaining to conduct toward civilians under military occupation and the provision of medical and humanitarian assistance.
>
> Specific practices, many of which our personnel have witnessed, include:
>
> - systematic and indiscriminate beatings;
> - widespread use of tear gas, rubber bullets, and live ammunition;
> - repeated attacks on hospitals, clinics, and medical personnel;
> - administrative detentions and mass arrests;
> - protracted curfews, house demolitions, and other forms of collective punishment; and
> - extended closure of schools and universities.
>
> These practices, which will leave enduring physical and psychological scars, must be stopped immediately.
>
> It is important that the present confrontation be placed within the context of the long unresolved Israeli-Palestinian dispute. Ultimately, the protection of human rights and the end of violence can only be assured by a comprehensive settlement.
>
> As concerned U.S. organizations, we call upon our government to protest these practices to the highest levels of the Israeli government, to pursue vigorously efforts to bring an end to violence on the ground, and to press for a solution that will realize security and self-determination for both Palestinians and Israelis.
>
> America-Mideast Educational Training Services
> Mennonite Central Committee
> American Friends Service Committee
> Musa Alami Foundation Jericho
> The Bethlehem Association
> Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations in North America
> Church World Services
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> United Holy Land Fund
> The Jerusalem Fund
> United Palestinian Appeal

barely beneath the surface of Peters' book, it is easy to determine its fallacies. Yet, these well-known personalities heap accolades upon it. Why? The Zionist perspective is so dominant when it comes to the struggle of ideas and rhetoric that the fallacies in Peters' book are accepted without question.

Still, in recent years, the Palestinians are starting to make headway. With authors such as Said, Finkelstein, and the other essayists in *Blaming the Victims*, including Peretz Kidron, Noam Chomsky, Rashid Khalidi, Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, Janet Abu-Lughod, Muhammad Hallaj, and Elia Zureik, the Palestinian story is being told. Their books and essays are finding major publishers and are being reviewed in important journals and newspapers.

Laying out the truth, the facts as they truly are, is the purpose of this book, and there is little question that it accomplishes its purpose eloquently and thoroughly. However, as important as pointing out the truth may be, it would have constituted a valuable stimulus to the virtually nonexistent peace process if these accomplished thinkers could have laid out a clear Palestinian political agenda.

In these months, largely because of the *Intifadah*, there are clear opportunities and a great need for the presentation of pragmatic, practical, political steps which the leadership could unequivocally adopt. Hard choices need to be made by the Palestinian leadership, choices that require majorities rather than consensus, and thoughtful people inside and outside the Palestinian community can help the leadership make these needed realistic and efficacious choices. ■

PEACE, from page 22

- recognition of the Armistice borders as "secure and recognized borders" dividing Israel from the newly created Palestinian state or Palestinian-Jordanian confederation; and
- establishment of a timetable and framework for the signing of Jordanian-Israeli and Palestinian-Israeli treaties of peace.

For Jerusalem—

- shared sovereignty and/or mutual administration of an open city.

The open city idea is the best suited to reconcile Israeli, Arab, and international demands. As part of an agreement, the five permanent members of the Security Council should establish diplomatic relations with Israel and move their embassies in Israel to Jerusalem. In addition, the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council should establish diplomatic relations with Palestine and set up their embassies to Palestine in Jerusalem.

The aforementioned elements of a forward-looking and imaginative U.S. policy offer the prospect of resolving an issue which has become a danger not only to Arabs and Israelis but also to international peace. An American policy formulated along these lines provides for: a reduction of the fears of both Arabs and Israelis of conventional and unconventional attack, a mechanism for the peaceful resolution of disputes, and a resolution of Arab grievances and Israeli demands for recognition and security.

Peace rather than war, independence in place of dependence, and prosperity instead of pauperism will signal the renaissance of this once glorious region and will serve as a testament to a new era of American leadership and diplomacy. ■

Women, from page 25

against the changes imposed by the military government on school curriculums.

In reading Tawil's work, one realizes that women have focused on the human aspects of the occupation. They have concentrated on the daily problems of life as opposed to discussing ideologies and ideological posturing.

This does not mean, of course, that women have no political views. Most women's organizations are ideologically based. However, women's actions are motivated by pragmatic concerns.

From Tawil's book we get a clear picture of the conditions of the refugees on the eve of the 1967 invasion as they took shelter around her house in Nablus. Her first act—together with Sahar Khalifeh, her neighbor at the time—was to provide food, shelter, and medical care. The two women set off to get the Israeli soldiers to open up an UNRWA warehouse of food supplies.

Some men in Nablus were highly offended that these two women were "mixing freely" with the soldiers. "Talking to the enemy is collaboration," someone says furiously. Khalifeh loses her temper. "We have suffered enough from slogans and ideologies!" she cries. "Ba'athism, Marxism, and all the rest. Now we have thousands of mouths to feed, hundreds of wounded to care for. We've talked enough! Now let's go to work and save what we can of the Palestinian people." ■

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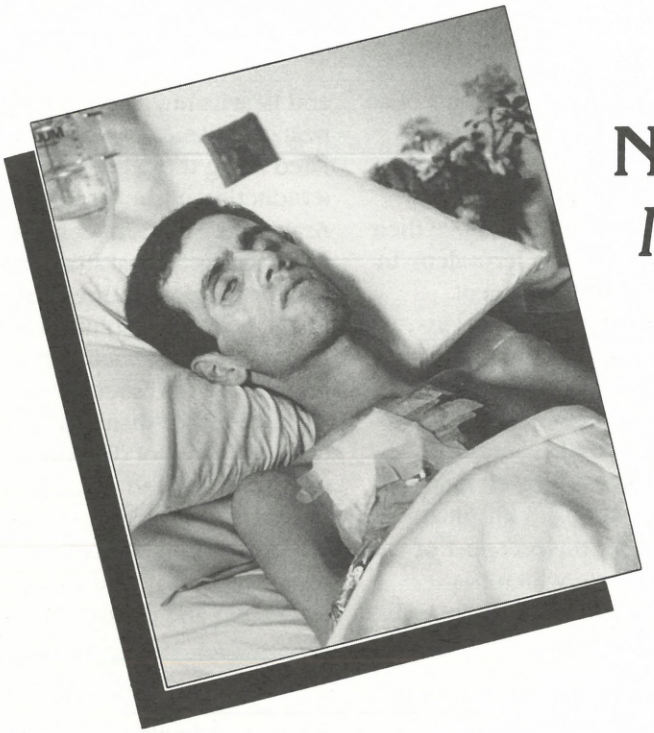

NOT ALL MARTYRS ARE DEAD: ONE STILL LIVES.

His name is Mohammad Abu Aker.

He is a 17-year-old Palestinian from a refugee camp outside Bethlehem.

Abu Aker became a martyr on August 6, 1988.

On that day, he was shot in his stomach by an Israeli soldier outside his house, and at close range.

The high velocity bullet shattered his intestines.

He survived against all odds.

As weeks passed, he eventually lost all of his small intestine and two-thirds of his large intestine to gangrene.

Abu Aker became a human icon for the Palestinian youth resisting the Israeli occupation.

His room at Al-Makassed Hospital in Jerusalem became a shrine. Daily, dozens and sometimes hundreds of people streamed in to touch him, to hear him speak out against Israel's occupation.

His words were recorded on cassettes and widely distributed.

As his health deteriorated, posters of him were readied in preparation for declaring him a martyr upon his death.

Everyone believed that his death was near **except** him.

His will to survive has been miraculous.

His doctors admitting that they could no longer do anything for him except watch him die recommended that he be sent to the U.S. for a rare intestinal transplant.

Abu Aker is now in Boston at the New England Deaconess Hospital awaiting his chance for a second life.

Abu Aker's operation will cost $100,000. As he comes from a poor refugee family, Abu Aker **needs** your support.

Help save a martyr. Your generosity is **urgently** needed and greatly appreciated.

YES! I want to help save Mohammad Abu Aker.

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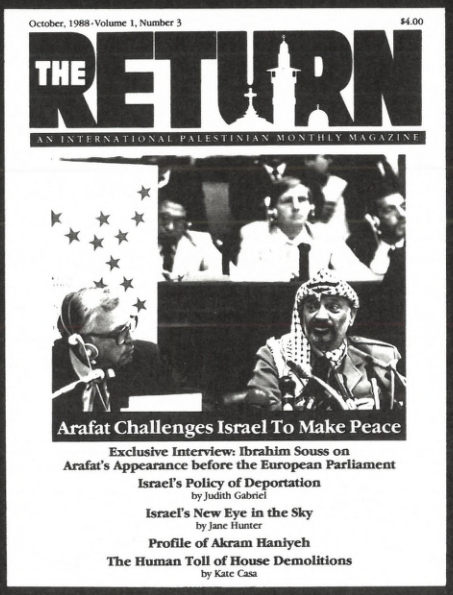
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